

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOLUME CXXX.

January 1910.

No man who hath tested learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contained with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world; and were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

Calcutta:

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. CCLIX.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. 259.—JANUARY 1910.

Art. I.—THE QUARTER.

THIS case to which we referred in our last number has at last assumed a complexion of finality and on the 23rd November judgment was delivered by the Chief Justice Sir Lawrence Jenkins and Mr. Justice Carnduff. During the hearing of the appeal the opinion was frequently expressed that the appellants would all be acquitted. This opinion was formed because of the numerous questions put to Counsel by the Court which to uninformed minds indicated a leaning towards the prisoners, but which to reasonable beings meant only a whole souled desire for justice. The result of the appeal is that of the 18 appellants, 1 has been acquitted; 2 have had the death sentence commuted to transportation for life; 2 sentenced to transportation for life have their sentences confirmed, 3 have transportation for 10 and 2 for 7 years in place of life sentences, 2 with life sentences and 1 with 10 years are to be transported for 7 years, while 2 with 10 years' transportation sentences receive 5 years rigorous imprisonment. In the cases of five appellants the judges disagreed and a third judge will decide their fate. The sentences will, we trust, act as a lesson to those misguided men who imagine that the road to liberty is one of crime. The result is a fitting reward to the energy and forbearance

of the police and the masterly marshalling of evidence by Mr. Eardley Norton, and though the appeals failed, a well-merited compliment was paid by the Chief Justice to the prisoners' leading Counsel Mr. C. R. Dass.

This annual function took place in the Town Hall, Calcutta, on the 30th November, when about 300 subscribers and guests sat down. The chair was occupied by Mr. C. W. N. Graham, President of the Chamber of Commerce. The gathering could not be considered as "distinguished" as its predecessors, as the absence of the Viceroy, the Lieutenant-Governor and the Commander-in-Chief, one or more of whom is usually present, robbed it of much of its importance. The speeches were hardly of the same high order that one is accustomed to look for on this annual occasion. The Chairman had a good deal to say regarding the Reform Scheme that is at present occupying so large a space on the Indian political horizon. His speech has been received with mixed expressions of approval and disapproval and it would have been better had he made out a stronger case for more extensive representation of the Commercial interests of India on the Re-formed Councils. As a commercial enunciation it can hardly be considered either as illuminating or interesting and St Andrew's Dinner of 1909 has passed into history as probably one of the least important of such functions.

The 15th of November will long be remembered in the history of India as a day which is practically the birth of a new era in the British Administration of this country and the publication in the *Gazette of India* of the provisions of the scheme marks the pronouncement of Government's intentions as to the future course of rule in India. That

St. Andrew's Dinner.

The Reform Scheme.

all communities would be satisfied was not to be expected, but no one anticipated so wholesale a condemnation from the Bengalee Press as the measure has called forth. Government should take heart by this condemnation for the fact that it has failed to please the editors of these journals is ample guarantee that it is calculated to advance the best interests of the masses even were those of a special few to suffer. The educated classes have now been given a larger share in working out their own salvation and while greatly diverse opinions are held and expressed as to the ultimate result of the bold step taken by Government, time will alone show how far the measure is wise and to what extent the people are capable of helping themselves to a satisfactory solution of getting the best out of life. In a country divided by castes and creeds it is extremely difficult, if not well nigh impossible, to bring to a satisfactory fruition a scheme of electoral representation at once comprehensive and efficient, and the provisions enunciated are eloquent testimony to the thought and care bestowed by those entrusted with the stupendous task of working out the details. We are glad to see the Mahomedans getting what was undoubtedly their due, but in a country made what it is by its commerce we consider the commercial representation totally and lamentably inadequate. The disqualifications to representation are set forth and Government is to be congratulated on retaining through the President of the Council an excellent and absolute discretion in the exclusion of undesirable representation and useless interpolations.

This Conference concluded its sittings in Simla on the 18th October. With the eminent medical men present it was only

The Malaria Conference.

natural that the deliberations and reasonings should be sound and instructive. The Viceroy was present at the opening of the Conference and several interesting papers were read and experiences related. The conclusions arrived at and recommendations were drawn up under certain main headings. They were as follows :—(1) scientific investigation ; (2) the agency by which investigations should be made ; (3) practical measures.—(a) extirpation of mosquitoes, (b) quinine treatment and prophylaxis, (c) education, (d) finance. The following is a summary of the details under the first heading, scientific investigation :—It is recommended that arrangements should be made for the immediate systematic investigation of (1) the distribution of malaria ; (2) its epidemiology and endemiology—(a) relation to meteor and physiographical conditions, and (b) the life history of malaria-bearing mosquitoes ; (3) the physiological and therapeutical action of quinine and other remedies for malaria, and the critical examination of vital statistics of each province undertaken to ascertain the different degrees of the prevalence of malaria. It is recommended that vital statistics should in future be compiled by smaller units than at present to prevent the true distribution of malaria being obscured, and that tests of registration work should be introduced in selected areas to be conducted by a special staff carefully supervised. Special attention should be directed to non-endemic areas to ascertain the reasons for such immunity. As to the investigating agency it is recommended that local organizations should be established in each province to work in consultation with the central scientific committee to be appointed by the Government of India to direct and co-ordinate the investigations, an annual meeting of the central

committee with a delegate from each organization to be held at a convenient centre to review the work done and prepare a programme for future work. Numerous practical measures were suggested. The first relates to the extirpation of the anopheles mosquito and continuous investigation is urged. Attention to drainage, sanitation and water-supply is also impressed on the attention of all medical officers. The intensity of desire to combat malaria successfully was the outstanding feature of the proceedings, and that good will result we are confident.

The recent tour completed by the Viceroy is by far the longest undertaken in recent years by any ruler of India, and it was appropriate that the representative of the King should visit as many of the Native Chiefs as possible at this most important period in the country's history. The warmth of the reception Lord Minto has experienced in every town of importance is eloquent testimony to the loyalty and attachment to the British Government of the Princes of India, and the unfortunate attempt on His Excellency's life at Ahmedabad only served to emphasize the sincerity of the welcome as we learn the would-be assassin got away in the crowd who were too intent on watching the Viceroy to notice the culprit. The new system of government just introduced was no doubt fully explained to the rulers of Native States, who thus had an opportunity of receiving first hand an intimation of the views and hopes of the Government of India. The tour extended from the morning of the 25th October when Lord Minto left Simla to the afternoon of the 15th December when he arrived in Calcutta, and the extent of his travelling may be gauged when it is remembered that he visited both

The Viceroy's Tour.

Madras and Bombay and in the course of his journeying met nearly every native ruler in the country. With a stay of 24 hours in Calcutta he left for Darjeeling, where he spent about four days and arrived in Calcutta on his return on the 21st December. That the continuous travelling should have caused a slight indisposition towards the end of the tour is not to be wondered at, and we are glad that on his arrival in Calcutta it could be truthfully said he had quite recovered. Lady Minto accompanied the Viceroy throughout his tour and lost no opportunity in doing something to testify her interest in and affection for the women of India.

Eastern Bengal will have cause to remember the 17th October for the severe storm that swept over the province. The wind was of sufficient violence to cause destruction over a large tract of country, but Goalundo and the adjacent district suffered most. The two steamer companies, the Rivers Steam and the India General, lost very heavily, every steamer and flat being damaged seriously, some beyond all hope of repair, while some were totally lost. The Eastern Bengal State Railway suffered heavily also, the living accommodation, principally on flats moored to the shore, was entirely destroyed, and the force of the storm was sufficiently great to blow a train into the river. It is a matter for sincere thankfulness, however, that the loss of life was small compared with what one might have expected.

The Elections at Home must always have a certain amount of interest for us in India, but in this year of grace such interest has been intensified by certain events which have, and are, happening in this country. The measures sanctioned

by the Liberal Government have produced in the Latin phrase a situation of *tot homines quot sententiae*! for while there is a large section of Anglo-Indian opinion which leads to the belief that the Reforms promulgated by the Government have been granted before the fulness of time and the defeat of the Liberals, will therefore be received by a large section of the public as a blessing. On the other hand, the sympathy of Indians goes out to the Liberals, who have given them so much and from whom, like Oliver Twist, they will like to have much more. And so for a considerable time during the period under review excitement was sustained, till it eventually subsided when the final results in favour of the Radicals were made known after the Quarter was over. The Elections have been notable for the number of members, with an interest in India, who have been thrown out at the polls. Some of these have, it is to be regretted, used their influence to embarrass the Government at a critical time, and their exit from the House will be regarded by right-thinking men with satisfaction.

The ingratitude of a section—a very small section it is to be hoped—of the Indian people was evidenced by the foul attempt which was made during the quarter on the life of the Viceroy of India. No British statesman has, perhaps, been imbued with such an earnest desire to sympathise, in a practical way, with the newer aspirations of the Indian than Lord Minto, and in spite of this, on the very eve of the introduction of the Reform of which he was the originator, a base attempt is made to take away the life of this just statesman who has never for a moment allowed the repeated dastardly acts of the anarchists—almost wearisome in their reiteration—to influence him

Sedition.

in postponing the Reforms so dear to his heart. By the grace of Divine Providence the attempt failed in its intentions and spared, let us hope for many years to come, one of the wisest statesmen who has ever ruled this unhappy country.

The black hand of the assassin, however, if he failed to slay the highest in the land, succeeded in his foul work elsewhere. The murder of Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, the Collector of Nasik, while he was attending a theatrical performance, on the invitation of the Indian community, was one of the saddest events, perhaps, in the quarter. Mr. Jackson was the Senior Collector, Bombay, and served his whole time in the Bombay Presidency. He was one of the most brilliant men in the service and also the most sympathetic and lovable, and by the irony of fate it is such men that the Indian anarchists seem to fix upon for their prey.

The passing of Leopold II, King of the Belgians, removed one of the most striking figures in Europe. The deceased monarch possessed more enemies perhaps than friends and his rule of his Colonial Empire in Africa, the Congo State, brought upon him the contempt of all right thinking men. His domestic life was most unhappy. His only son died when ten years old. The Princess Louise married Philip of Saxe-Coburg, was declared insane and kept a prisoner all her life. The Princess Stephanie married the Crown Prince of Austria-Hungary and after his tragical suicide married Count Longay, her Chamberlain. Leopold's dissolute life was the subject of common gossip in Europe. He is succeeded by the only son of his deceased brother, the Count of Flanders, who it is to be hoped will purge the Belgian Court of the impurity which has made it notorious in Europe.

The passing of Leopold II.

Art. II.—“ NATURE ” AND “ CONVENTION ” IN GREEK ETHICS.

TO the Greek mind, the problem of change and decay first excited wonder, which is generally said to be the starting point of all speculation, moral or metaphysical. Particular things were coming into being and passing away. The mystery of this phenomenon made the early thinkers of Greece awake to the need of answering the question : What is the one identical single substratum of matter which lies behind all the elements ? The early Greek cosmologists busied themselves with the riddle of the universe, as they were fully conscious of the principle first proclaimed by Parmenides *ex nihilo nihil fit*. The underlying substratum or the permanent substance amid the flux out of which the varying phenomena arise, they called “ Nature,” though the physical inquirers of Greece differed with regard to the content of the term. Thales called it “ water ;” Heraclitus, fire ; and Pythagoras, number. Traditional views about the universe had succumbed before the investigations of these Greek thinkers. But the sphere of morality was left untouched. It was at a later day that this tendency of the early Greek mind to stand in the realm of thought and reason without acquiescing in blind faith in presented experience showed itself in the region of morals.

The beginnings of Greek moral philosophy are to be laid in those isolated apophthegms, which are the expression of what is generally styled the “ proverbial ” stage of morality. The naïve and fragmentary sayings of the seven sages of Greece, in which nascent moral philosophy first made itself felt, were the crystallisations

of the popular moral consciousness. Such even were the isolated ethical maxims we find in Heraclitus and others, *e. g.*, "wantonness needs to be extinguished even more than a conflagration." "It is hard to fight with desire. Whatever it wishes to get, it purchases at the cost of the soul." (Heraclitus : Fragments)

Time had not yet come for reflection which sees life steadily and sees it whole. Traditional morality prevailed here as elsewhere. No man dared to question the immutability of the laws of custom. A sort of sacredness instinctive in the case of the primitive man stood in the way of his questioning the inevitable order of state and its laws. Custom, as Pindar sang, was the Lord of all things. Evidently this state of affairs was not to last long, though the subtle mind of the Greek was not turned to it till the close of the Persian wars. The wars with the Orient were just brought to a close. Greece reached the acme of political power. She was now the foremost nation in the world. Around the name of her statesman, Pericles, rightly renowned for his oratory and statesmanship stands forth, a number of lesser stars equally brilliant in their respective spheres, science, art and poetry. An impetus was given to freedom of thought in every direction by the increase of individual and national self-consciousness. "Proud of their achievements," says Aristotle, "men pushed further afield after the Persian wars. They took all knowledge to be their province, making no distinction but seeking wider and wider studies." Greece was now surging with new ideas to an extent unknown before. Every line of mental activity and excitement found its proper soil there. This newly awakened spirit called forth a reconsideration of man's moral and intellectual interests. Old methods of instruction were found

inadequate to meet the requirements of the new Greece. This new spirit was found to offer the best opportunity for a sect of people who were teachers, philosophers, journalists and rhetoricians all in one. Their object was indeed noble; their endeavour was to pull down traditional morality which was based on the sanctity of custom and to place it on a more scientific basis. These the Sophists, who were the mouthpiece of this newly awakened consciousness, began to question the moral ideas connected with the popular religion, faith in which was rudely shaken by the early physical philosophers of Greece. The naïve consciousness of early Greece obeyed the laws of the state without asking whence they came or why they existed. None in the pre-Sophistic period thought of questioning the law and its authority, but with the enlightenment, confidence in it began to waver. Morality, for the Sophists, became a problem.

Why? What led to this unsettlement of belief in state and its laws? Several influences contributed to this result. *First* and foremost is the intellectual spirit of the age of Pericles. Much need not be said about it. Then everything was subjected to the ordeal of rigorous examination. Morality cannot escape passing through the same. The Greek mind was not in an attitude when it could take the traditional morality on trust and act up to its dictates. The order of the state and the injunctions laid by it upon the individual cannot be accepted without murmur or question. *Secondly* the experiences of public life also tended to the same result. The frequent changes in the political constitutions of the Greek city states took away the halo from unquestioned and unconditioned validity of the state and its laws. With the single exception of Sparta every other city state underwent a cycle of changes. Everywhere there had been a

development from Monarchy to Democracy through Aristocracy and Tyranny. Blind faith in the state and its laws might have continued to be the attitude of the Greek mind, if the different constitutions be of a single type. In the face of the fact that constitutional changes were occurring one after the other in quick succession, doubt cannot be repressed, free thought cannot be stifled. Those laws once revered as divine and sacrosanct can no more be held immutable when each city had developed in the course of history a code of conduct peculiar to itself. Thus owing to the different interpretations current about the state and its functions, men were forced to ask about the *raison d'être* of the state. When Athens, Sparta and Thebes imposed on their citizens qualifications so various the question cannot be raised. What are the duties of a citizen? What is the best state? *Lastly*, Colonisation had also its share in unsettling the confidence which the Greek had in the sacredness of political laws. In the colonies legislators like Solon and Lycurgus enacted laws. Perhaps laws everywhere were the work of man. Law can no more be considered divine. It was out and out an artificial construction.

Just as the physical philosophers of Greece were obliged to posit some underlying entity under the manifold, so the Sophists were on the look out for some principle which is identical in the midst of the changing moral laws. Is there anything at all in this variety of traditional morality which is independent of time, place and circumstance? Greece was prepared for this question by the cosmological speculation of the pre-Sophistical era. As Greek cosmology styled this constant entity "Nature," so even in ethics the Sophists gave the title "Nature" to the universal element. If there is anything universally valid, it is that which is valid by "Nature."

The State is simply due to "convention" and not to "Nature." The laws of "nature" are everywhere the same. The stone if left unsupported falls to the ground everywhere and at all times. But look at these "conventions." A hundred different customs of marriage and as many forms of burial. Can all these be products of "Nature"? Surely not. Law, a convention; State, a contract. Such was the theme preached by the Sophists.

Let us now turn to Protagoras, who is generally considered to be the standard exponent of the Sophistic doctrine. "Man is the measure of all things" is the Protagorean formula, as all the world knows. Whatever the divergences among the Sophists in other points may be, one thing is plain that they pass from "nature" to "man"! Philosophy from being cosmocentric became anthropocentric. The value of the saying "The proper study of mankind is man" was seen to the full. The play of human agency in the constitution of civil institutions was emphasised very much. The state and its laws, they proclaimed were due to "convention." They do not exist by "nature." At once arose questions whether the State was rightly constituted, or whether it stood in need of reform. Tested by the Protagorean dictum the state fails miserably. Measured by man it is found wanting, hopelessly wanting. The state and its laws, due to convention as they are, are nothing less than anathema. They stifle the free play of self, which is the rule of moral life everywhere. As Hippias in Plato says, "Law being a tyrant constrains man contrary to nature." "Nature" and "Convention" are as wide as anything. There is a big chasm separating the two. The traditional code of morality due to convention is, according to them, not in consonance with the ethics of nature. There is always an internecine war between the ethics of convention and the ethics

of Nature. Nature leads us to self-assertion, self-enjoyment and self-indulgence while Convention dictates to us self-abandonment, self-denial and self-abnegation. Thus the two are diametrically opposed.

Well now, asked the Sophist, what is the *nature* of moral life apart from its *conventions*? What will be the character of the ideal code which constitutes the "nature" of the ethical phenomena? What is not "convention" is "nature." Convention inflicts on us the rules of society holding up social well-being as its end. So then, the individual well being is the end of nature. The pleasure and satisfaction of the individual (for the Sophist treats man as a being capable only of feelings) is the characteristic of the Sophistic morality. Individualism thus became the gospel of the fifth century.

Reflection in this age manifests itself in its opposition between nature and convention which formed the theme of Antigone of Sophocles. Equality of men is the law of nature. Distinctions between men depend therefore on convention. This is why Lycophron desired to do away with the class of nobles. Alcidamus wanted to get rid of the slave class. Even the idea of political equality of women with men was projected in this age.

Next arose the question in giving an answer to which the Sophist has displayed all his ingenuity. How in the world did it happen that men, conscious of their free individualities, surrendered their independence. Man is the organiser and originator of the state which threatened at times to stifle the whole of a man's free individuality. For relief in this difficulty, the speculative subtlety of the Sophists has busied itself in several ways, some of which we shall note here. The Hobbesian theory of social contract presented itself as the most plausible one. Men voluntarily abandoned the satisfactions

of individual initiative for the advantages of co-operation. Even here it is the individual's self-interest that led to the formation of the state. It had not the inevitability of a natural order, nothing of the sacredness of a divine institution. The state was organised because it saved man from the nasty and brutish condition of the state of nature but still pure individualism must throw away the yoke of the state.

The state was sometimes said to be due to the conspiracy of the weak. A social contract made by the weak in their own interests against the strong, such was the origin of the state. Even this will not do. As it is, the state violates the law of nature. The state is a conventional thing, an artificial construction and a human makeshift which must utterly be overthrown. Nature emancipates the individual from the bondage of society. It allows to man the full license of self-satisfaction. "Might is right" is the law of nature. Every individual has, according to the law of nature, a right to satisfy his cravings to the best of his powers. The greatest right of the greatest might is the rule of nature. The natural instinct of self-preservation makes the weak join together as small birds unite against a hawk in order to get greater satisfaction for themselves. So then the state as due to the conspiracy of the weak is not a natural organisation, for, while "nature" has ordained that might is right and that the strong should rule the weak, convention makes the weak rule the strong which is giving to the weak something more than their powers warrant.

Whether therefore the explanation of the origin of the state takes the form which Thrasymachus (in Plato's Republic) gives to it, that it is the organisation by which the strong force the weak to do their will, or the one

in Callicles who makes it a bulwark instituted by the weak against the encroachments of the 'strong the state is made in the personal interests of the legislators themselves. If the path of convention swerves from that of nature, it is plain that the deviation is in the interests of the law-makers. Thus ultimately the basis of political obligation is the individual's self interest. Laws are to be obeyed only so far as the individual's interests are promoted, *i.e.*, only so far as convention and nature coincide. But if the two diverge, then convention has to be thrown overboard. Nature's dictates have to be obeyed. Plato's Gorgias offers an interesting illustration of the divergence of the two. Criminals have attained the greatest happiness by acting in ways opposed to convention. A consummate villain can well simulate justice and can thereby derive honour, fame and wealth while possessing at the same time an unjust soul. The sin of the soul can be expiated by sacrifices to God. Is not an unjust man infinitely happier than a just man in this life, and in the other are not all equal?

The sensational theory of the Sophists leads to this result. There is, according to it, no universal norm for human conduct. The so-called standards of morality were only subjective, changing with individuals. Morality became relative. It is dependent upon the precarious constitution of mankind. Their practical life was in perfect consonance with their theories. They adopted individualism not only because they thought it was true, but because they found it was useful to them. On the whole the Sophistic teaching was questionable and hurtful to public morals. Their doctrines were subversive of older moral standards. Their ethical teaching ended in moral scepticism and moral chaos. The orthodox and conservative spirit of Greece was much roused

Aristophanes was the spokesman of this party. The sophists have fallen on evil days, so much so, that even the title "Sophist" has fallen into evil odour.

But there is another side to this whole picture. Without them we would not have had a Socrates or a Plato. They made a great stir in the world of thought. They did much to awaken the intellectual life of the city. They provoked discussion and induced perplexity. They brought to the front the need for a scientific account of morality. With this aspect of their philosophy, Socrates is in cordial sympathy. He agreed with them as to the necessity and propriety of bringing everything to the bar of reason. But he wanted that the investigations must be more complete and thoroughgoing.

The ethics of nature and the ethics of convention, the Sophists declared are not coincident. They never offered a solution to bridge the gulf between the two. To reconcile the opposition is the aim of Socrates, and he therefore starts with the question, What belongs to man's nature? "Sensation," said the Sophists. Their psychology began and ended in sensationalism. To such a being self-enjoyment would be the most authoritative command. If the individual is endowed with such a constitution Socrates admits that the ethics of convention which he finds opposed to him, when he is turned adrift into the world, squares but badly with the ethics of nature. Their logic is irrefutable, but Socrates urges that their premise is false. They have failed to grasp the true nature of man. Socrates is sophist enough to emphasise the importance of the study of man, but he appeals to the good sense of the Sophist to know "man" more completely and thoroughly than he has till now cared to know. Know thyself. Get a good grasp of the true nature of man. Man possesses

the faculty of thought in addition to the faculty of sense. Man is not a mere sensuous creature but also a rational being. He possesses in common with all intelligence the faculty of reason. Reason gives us universals while sense gives us particulars. If this distinction is made and if man's nature is known to be rational also, then morality is secure from the attacks of the Sophists. The Sophists had taught men to go along the lines of instinct, which led to an overthrow of the older moral standards. The age was in need of teachers who would revindicate the claims of popular morality. Such a man was found in the person of Socrates. He taught men to train themselves in knowledge and control themselves by it. He accepted the Protagorean dictum "Man is the measure of all things," but with a qualification. Man is the measure only so far as he participates in the nature of all intellect, but so far as his sense-faculty is concerned he is not a measure of the universe. Whereas the Sophist regards "sense" *as such* the essential part of man, Socrates regards reason as more natural to man.

Virtue is knowledge. He impressively instilled this doctrine into the minds of his people. Man should direct himself by known rules. He agreed with the Sophists that blind faith in rules ought to be depreciated, but at the same time wished men to analyse the duties of life and arrive at clear conceptions of their meanings. A true examination reveals that human nature is composed of both reason and sense. Reason, however, is superior to sense. So Socrates urges that the pleasures of the soul are preferable to those of body. Thus in Socrates the two—ethics of nature and ethics of convention—coincide. Convention just imposes what nature prescribes. The contradiction between the two is overcome

and appeased. The never-ending controversy about the problem of morality is thus solved. Convention and nature go hand in hand. The just, the legal and the useful are one. Virtue, utility and law all point the same way. Thus Socrates fulfilled the aim with which he started, *viz.*, to raise conventional morality to a scientific plane. How far he was successful, it was left for his successors to decide.

It is plain from his life that the identity between the two is not a true one. He refused to cease the preaching which the state forbade for conscience' sake. So he died a martyr's death. He introduced new gods and corrupted the youth. The charge against Socrates is not altogether a false one. There is no question about his loyalty to the state in his actual behaviour, but yet he was an enemy of its stability and authority. To defend the state and its laws on the ground of their utility is to lay them open to be rejected whenever they were found useless. Again the fact that schools of divergent tendencies claim Socrates for their master also shows that his doctrine was not very consistent.

Virtue is knowledge. Knowledge of what? Of the good. What is the good? Sometimes it is stated to be virtue, sometimes happiness. These two interpretations give rise to two different schools in which again the opposition between nature and convention is laid stress on. The cynics pushed the abstract Socratic formula "Virtue is knowledge" to its extreme consequences. The wise man who had attained knowledge was sufficient unto himself. For each thing that alone can be a good that belongs to it by nature. The only real thing which belongs to man is mind, which is the same as free exercise of thought. Every want or desire is a bond which makes man dependent upon fortune. Independence can

be got only by the suppression of desire and restriction of wants. 'Virtue is freedom from wants.' In their endeavour to reduce the wants to a minimum, the cynics revolted against the goods of civilisation and wanted to attain the ideal of a state of nature in all its pristine purity. They rebelled against society with its grades and institutions. One man is as good as another; one place as good as another. "Why should I be proud of belonging to the soil of Attica with its worms and slugs?" Thus professing no city, home or country they came back to the state of nature.

The Cyrenaics also adopted the same attitude towards society though for a different reason. The Socratic formula "Virtue is knowledge" was made to yield a hedonistic view. How is knowledge useful? Aristippus says "Just to enable the philosopher, supposing all laws are abolished, to go on living as before." The Socratic identification of law and utility was brought to this pass. Utility, says Socrates, is the basis of law. Therefore utility is the end of existence. Law was a mere convention. Right and wrong existed by convention and custom and not by nature. A wise indifference to all objects is the rule of life. So they deny to the individual any interest in a civic unit. Every man has a right to enjoy by a law of nature. Social institutions which are products of convention impose a limit upon that right. The goods of civilisation so far as they were a limit to the free enjoyment of the individual were rejected though they gladly shared the refinements of enjoyment which civilisation brought in.

Let us now pass from these one-sided and imperfect Socraticisms to the full development of the Socratic doctrine in Plato. The republic of Plato is mainly directed against the Sophists. Justice, the Sophists argued, was

merely a conventional thing and ought to be adopted only so far as it conduces to the end of self-interest which is a law of nature. If happiness can be got by unjust means there is nothing to deter us from doing so. This called forth Plato's wrath and indignation. The Sophist and not Socrates, Plato thought, was the *corruptor juventutis*. The fabric of faith in state and its laws was shaken to its very foundations by the Sophistic doctrine, which makes justice a means to the further end of self-interest. Plato attempts to overthrow this ideal of justice by showing it to be the law of the very being of man. Justice fulfils a law of man's being and is itself an expression of man's nature. Justice lies in the harmony of the three faculties of the soul—reason, spirit and desire. There can never be a just soul without the proper harmony. The mere semblance of justice is not enough, but the reality is requisite, or else the soul instead of being happy is miserable. Law and justice, the code of rules and the court of equity are just the outward expressions of man's nature. Obedience to law is only obedience to one's own nature. Nature, law and reason thus coincide. Conventional laws or the laws of the state are the manifestations of the true being of man. Each individual would be securing his own ends by securing the ends of the state. His own interest is not the motive which propels him to secure the interests of others. Man has impulses egoistic as well as altruistic engrained in his own nature. This truth Aristotle brings out by saying "Man is a political animal."

Thus have the two "convention" and "nature" been reconciled. Convention simply enforces what nature has already prescribed. The conventional man is merely the development of the natural man. The citizen is then the perfect individual.

Neglect to emphasise this, the social nature of man, has given rise to the apparently never-ending controversy of Egoism and Altruism. Throughout the course of English Ethics with some honourable exceptions here and there, the fallacy makes itself felt. Man has been considered to be a self-centred individual capable of attaining satisfaction in himself. Hobbes thought that everyone if left to himself would pursue his own happiness without having any interest in the welfare of others. Though Bishop Butler lays stress on the social nature of man, he is still a prey to the same fallacy when he urges "We can neither justify to ourselves this or any other pursuit till we are convinced that it will be for our happiness or at least not contrary to it." Bentham repeats the same tendency when he declares, "Dream not that men would move their little finger to serve you unless their advantage in so doing be obvious to them." According to J. S. Mill it is the individual's pleasure that is the end with each man. Almost all these English moralists held the nature of man to be purely egoistic. This is why they all find it hard to explain altruism. If the law of my nature asks me to care only for my welfare, what in the world can make me look for the interests of others? Hobbes' Social Contract, Butler's Conscience, Bentham's External Sanctions and Mill's Internal Sanction are some of the ways by which the several men attempt to bolster up the theory that though each man's nature impels him to look to his own interest, yet he must also see in so doing that he promotes the interest of others. But these several solutions do not completely reconcile the opposition for the root of the whole fallacy lay elsewhere. Man was never in a nasty and brutish condition looking only to his own welfare. Individual satisfaction is not the end of

man as the Sophists and the individual moralists of the later period thought. Plato's answer to the Sophists is just the answer by which we can rebut the arguments of these egoistic moralists. Both egoism *as such* and altruism *as such* are later developments of the individual's self-consciousness. Man had, to begin with, both egoistic impulses as well as altruistic impulses. Man was from the very beginning a member of society obeying its laws rather than looking to his own interest. As Plato said, justice is the normal state of the soul. "Altruism" is also then a manifestation of man's nature. There is therefore absolutely no opposition between the two.

S. RADH. KRISHNAN.

THE PRESIDENCY COLLEGE, }
MADRAS, 9th July 1909.

Art. III.—THE DUTCH IN MALABAR

being a Translation of two manuscripts in the record rooms of the Madras Government.

By A. GALLETTI, I.C.S., THE REV. A. J. VAN DER BURG, SS., J. AND THE REV. P. GROOT, SS. J.,
with an Introduction and Commentary

BY A. GALLETTI, I.C.S.
(Continued from page 551.)

INTRODUCTION.

VII.

PORTUGAL and the Netherlands had made peace before Cochin and Cannanore fell. The treaty was signed on the 6th of August 1661, ratified by Portugal on the 24th of May 1662, by the Netherlands on the 14th of December 1662¹, and published on the 14th of March 1663, but nothing was heard in the East of the ratification till much later. On the 11th of May 1663 the Dutch at Batavia heard that “the peace with the English was concluded, but that with the Portuguese not,”² and it was not till the 14th of June that “the frigate *Joncker* arrived in the roads from the fatherland having stopped nowhere on the way”³ and brought a letter from the Directors, dated the 23rd of December 1662, which announced the ratification of the treaty. The 6th article of the treaty ran as follows: “According

¹ Danvers II., 329; date 14th December (not 4th as Danvers nor 24th as Valentijn) I take from Bat. Diary, 1664, p. 84. The treaty is given in full in Biker's Collection, Vol. IV.

² Diary 1663, p. 172.

³ Diary, 1663, p. 336. The Portuguese do not appear to have got the news till much later. Father Giuseppe di S. Maria only heard it in November.

to this treaty, all hostilities and offensive actions shall cease between the King and the Kingdom of Portugal on the one part and the United Netherlands on the other and between their subjects and citizens in Europe within two months from the date that this treaty shall be signed by both parties, and in the other parts of the world from the date of the publication of this document, and to all the prisoners on both sides shall be given their former freedom directly after the ratification of this treaty. while all regions, places, ships and goods which may be taken in the meantime by either party as well as those conquered before in the East Indies, the West Indies or elsewhere, will remain in possession of those who appear to have been their possessors at the moment ; but such as are occupied and taken in Europe after the lapse of two months from the signature of the said treaty, in other parts of the world from its publication, shall be restored without delay or exception to their former masters."

This seems clear enough. Cochin and Cannanore were taken in January and February 1663, that is before the publication of the treaty on the 14th of March 1663. Nevertheless in March 1664 an envoy from the Portuguese Viceroy arrived at Batavia with a letter from the Viceroy, dated the 18th of January 1664. in which he wrote¹: "Under the capitulations of peace between the King of Portugal, my Master, and the Most Serene Estates of the United Provinces which you must have received by now and I again send for you to see, you must restore me the places of Cochin and Cannanore as having been taken after the publication of the said peace which was made on the 14th of December 1662"* * * *

¹The letter is inserted in Bat. Diary, 1664, under date 28th March.

The Dutch replied "it was true the treaty was ratified on the 14th of December 1662, but it only came into force, so far as the East was concerned, in conformity with the sixth article, after the publication of the said peace which took place three months after the said ratification, as may be seen in article 26."

The question was again raised in Europe two years later, but the claim was, as might have been expected, not taken seriously by the Dutch¹, though they seem to have been open to an offer. The Portuguese continued to press their claims and under article 14 of the Treaty between Portugal and France of the 31st of March 1667 the Most Christian King was to endeavour to get Cochin and Cannanore restored to Portugal *omni genere officiorum*. The question was finally set at rest by the Treaty between Portugal and the Netherlands of the 30th July 1669, article 1 of which states that Cochin and Cannanore should remain in the hands of the Dutch East India Company until not only the war indemnity fixed by the treaty of 1661 had been paid, but also a special indemnity for the cost of the Company's fleet, which had taken them, and of all the operations². The fort at Cannanore remained Dutch until it was sold to the Ali Raja (Sea King) of Cannanore in 1771, and Cochin until it was taken by a British force in 1795.

VIII.

The history of Dutch rule on the west coast of India from 1663 to 1795 can be written in detail only when 1,400 volumes of records have been examined and compared. Meanwhile the accounts of Stein van

Campaigns of 1717 A.D.
and of 1739-42 A.D.

¹ Danvers II. 329 ; Valentijn V. (2), 34.

² These treaties are given in full in Vol. IV. of Biker's collection (Treaty relating to Portuguese India in Latin and Portuguese).

Gollennesse and Moens will throw some light on the politics of Malabar during their administrations. The first was written just after the failure of an enterprise which might have resulted in the establishment of a Dutch Empire on the west coast, and just before Dupleix showed the French, the English and the world what a simple matter the establishment of European ascendancy on the east coast was. The second was written when the English were becoming the leading power in South India, but were still engaged in their struggle with Mysore. When Stein Van Gollennesse wrote Malabar was divided up among a great number of petty princes, none of them formidable. In 1881, when Moens wrote, Holland was sinking to a low place among the nations, the Dutch had long ceased to be masters of the sea, and the once great Dutch East India Company could no longer dream of territorial expansion in the East, but was about to be ruined by the war between the home country and Great Britain.

Though the history of the Dutch in Malabar cannot yet be written, something may be said about two outstanding campaigns.

When the Dutch took Cochin the most powerful and aggressive of the petty princes of Malabar was the Zamorin of Calicut. He had been for a hundred and fifty years the enemy of the Portuguese and of the King of Cochin and when the Dutch prepared to lay siege to Cochin he entered into an alliance with them and gave them some assistance, though much less than the Dutch had expected. The Zamorin expected in return to be made King of Cochin¹. But the Dutch had no intention of making him too powerful. He then asked for at least the island of Vypeen. But this

¹ Batavia Diary, 1663, p. 128.

also was refused him. The relations of the Zamorin with the Dutch were naturally not cordial thereafter. Moreover questions were always arising between him and the King of Cochin, whom the Dutch were bound by treaty to protect. As early as 1665 there was a question about a piece of territory called Catur. The Dutch had to interfere and propose a settlement, which was accepted. But hostilities continually broke out between the parties, and as often as not Cochin, though the weaker, was, according to the Dutch, the aggressor, relying on the Dutch to protect him¹. War was in fact the natural state of Malabar; the different princes always had claims, often of great obscurity, to places in one another's territories. Moreover the Zamorin and Cochin were the heads of rival factions, also of obscure origin, called the Chavarakur and Panniyurkur factions, and as such had always an excuse for fighting. The Portuguese found Cochin at war with the Zamorin in 1500; the parties continued to be at war intermittently for the next two hundred and fifty years.

For half a century after the occupation of Cochin the Dutch were from time to time embroiled in these wars and led into expenditure which caused Malabar to be set down as an unprofitable settlement. The Zamorin's route of invasion lay along the shore by Chetway and Cranganore. The Payenchery Nair, in whose territory Chetway lay, and the Prince of Cranganore were tributary to him. In 1710 A.D. the Dutch forced the Zamorin to conclude a treaty by which he ceded to them the suzerainty over these two little chiefs (treaty of 10th January 1710) and proceeded to build or extend a fort at Chetway. The situation became acute again in the year 1715 when the Zamorin surprised the fort on the

¹ Canter Visscher.

night of the 22nd of January¹. The prestige of the Company was seriously affected and the numbers of their enemies began to swell "like a snow-ball."² A glimpse of the Dutch Commandeur of the time, Barent Ketel, is obtainable from the diary of Stephen Strutt,³ who was sent to inspect the English factories on the west coast in 1714. He was at Cochin on November the 16th and was received politely by the "Commodore," of whom he remarks: "The Governor Barran Kettle raised himself from a Centinell as several of their men in post have done; he was mighty affable and courteous." He seems, however, to have been corrupt; for Strutt goes on to remark that the Governor and broker "being equally concerned" charged the Dutch Company "whatever they could agree" for pepper, and that private persons could easily procure pepper underhand in spite of the Company to monopoly, "but it must not be openly."

This person was afterwards summoned to Batavia to undergo his trial for high treason and cowardice, but was eventually acquitted in 1719.

It was realised in Batavia that a considerable force would be required in Malabar to restore the Company's prestige. 1,573 men were sent in September 1715, and 1,500 more in September 1716,⁴ these last under the command of the Right Worshipful the Councillor Extraordinary William Bakker Jacobsz. The Diary

¹ Summary of history in Resolution of 5th March 1777, MS No 1151 C. F.; also Study of Affairs in Malabar, 1691-3, from original documents by N. Macleod, 1902, published by Nijhoff, the Hague, and the summary given by the Dutch to the British Resident in 1793 (Vol. 13, Malabar Commission's Report and Vol. 29, Malabar Commission Dranes, Political, in Fort St. George Records).

² Canter Visscher.

³ MS. Diary in the Madras Records.

⁴ Klerk de Reus, p. 151, note.

⁵ Valentijn V. (2), 44.

of His Worship's campaign was written up in great detail from day to day and is still in existence.¹

His Worship arrived in Cochin on the 28th of November 1716. One of his first acts was to send letters announcing his arrival and that of Barent Ketel's successor, Johannes Hertenberg, and his intention of punishing the Zamorin, to the powers of Malabar. The list of addresses below will give some idea of the manner in which Malabar was then divided up into petty States.

To the Raja of Porea	To the Palyet
" Repolim	To the 3,000 of Baijpin
" Calicoilan	Coddachery Caymal
" De Marta	Corretty Caymal
" Signatty	Changara Codd a
" Trevancore	Caymal
" Teckenkore	Mannacotta Atsja
" Berkenkore	Tottacherry Tale-
" Peritaly	henore
To the Ameen of Atinga	Murianatty Nambiar
" Cochin	Aynicity Nanbeddy
To the Raja of Cartadavil	Raja of Paru
" Aijrore	Balnore or Bargara
" Palcatchery	Adergia of Cann-
" Valavanatty	nore
" Colastry	Caimal of Cunattu-
" Cranganore	naddu
To the second Prince of Man-	Tevengul Nairo
gatty	Parra Olledam
" Bardella	Palurgatty Caymal
To the Pula of Cariatta	Tachetta Munancur
" Gurip of Trevancore	Caymal of Angecay-
" 7,000 of Caraporam	mal
" 30,000 of Cururnadda	" Payenchery Nairo ²

From calculations as to how far a supply of rice would go, it appears that the Dutch force in the field at the beginning of the campaign consisted of 3,226 men without counting 1,000 Singalese expected

¹ MS. Nos. 97-99.

² Where most of the places are and the meanings of the designations will be explained in Stein Van Gollenesse's Memoir and the notes thereto. The Nairs are the fighting caste (a Sudra caste), Pillai and Kurup Nair titles, Caymal means Prince, Atsja (Achan)=father, Adergia=Ali Raja, Sea King, Balnore is Malayalam Valluvanar, Ruler, etc.

from Ceylon, who actually arrived at Chetway on the 26th February 1717¹. It is also mentioned that there were not more than 193 topasses and 113 lascorins in the service, and from an entry under the 10th January 1717 it appears that the Dutch could then dispose of 3,400 men as against 2,200 the year before. The Zamorin was entrenched in a pagger (stockade) at Paponetty (Pappinivattam), some 20 miles south of the captured fort of Chetway. The pagger was attacked on the 16th January 1717 and taken with a slaughter of 2,000 of the Zamorin's Nairs. The Dutch casualties were 17 Europeans dead, 72 wounded ; others 22 dead, 69 wounded. On the 27th the Dutch army arrived before Chetway, which they found abandoned, and the Zamorin began to negotiate.

According to the Rev. J. Canter Visscher, who was chaplain of Cochin from December 1717 to December 1723, the result of the action at Paponetty was a great shock to the heathen, and the bones of the dead lay about the fields for many years afterwards. The reverend gentleman exaggerates a subsequent skirmish at Uruvenur on the 12th of February, in which the Dutch, according to the Diary of the campaign, lost one man killed and five wounded, and the Zamorin 117—120 killed and wounded, into "a decisive victory," and cannot be considered a very trustworthy witness, but it certainly appears from the Zamorin's correspondence that he had no stomach for fighting after the action of the 16th of January. The negotiations fell through for the time being over the question of the amount of the indemnity, the

¹ Diary of the Campaign. On the 7th of March the field army at Uruvenur consisted of 4,181 men, of whom 941 were Europeans, 125 topasses, 371 lascorins (Indian and Ceylon Sepoys), 1,654 Malays, 1,090 Cingalese. The auxiliaries supplied by the Raja of Cochin are estimated by Valentijn at 15,000.

Zamorin asserting that he had no cash but would surrender land, while the Dutch wanted both land and cash. A few months afterwards peace was concluded, and the Dutch obtained a small indemnity¹ and were also placed in possession, in complete sovereignty, of a strip of sea-coast (Province Paponetty), forming part of what was called "the Sandy land" between Chetway and Cranganore²—now a southerly projection of the British district of Malabar, cutting off the Cochin State from the sea. They were also confirmed or established in the sovereignty over Cranganore and other petty states³, while certain other territories handed over by the Zamorin⁴ were handed on to Cochin. In this war the Zamorin seems to have received assistance from the English. This is not only asserted in the Campaign Diary of the Dutch, but is confirmed by the contemporary writer Alexander Hamilton (edition of 1739, I 315) and by an entry on page 67 of the Tellicherry Diary for 1743-4, where the old "linguist" or Eurasian agent of the English at Calicut is reported as observing: "When this Fort at Tellicherry was set about the Building of, Mr. Adams got leave from the Samorine to export what materials he should want from Calicut customs free, which he believes the Samorine more readily granted, as Mr. Adams was very servicable to him by assisting him in his wars against the Dutch."

The supply of war material was a profitable branch of trade, while it was good policy to injure a trade rival and secure the favour of a native chief. Another extract from the Tellicherry Diary under date the 19th

¹ Article 2 of the Treaty of the 17th December, 1717 : 85,000 Calicut new golden fanums (MS. No. 105).

² Article 23 of the Treaty.

³ Articles 17 and 24 of the Treaty.

⁴ Article 21 of the Treaty.

September 1743 will show that another native chief had been given similar assistance against the French :
 “ From the circumstances of the Debt we judge that the reason he (the chief of Boyanore) refuses to discharge it is that as it arose from Stores and Ammunition supplied to him privately in his wars with the French, he imagines we do not care to make any great stir about it, lest the French should be acquainted with our having assisted him.”

Canter Visscher suggests that more advantages should have been obtained and hints that the Right Worshipful Willem Bakker Jacobsz had private reasons of his own for not completely humbling the Zamorin. This shows that the Dutch at Cochin, or some of them, were not satisfied with the acquisition made. But His Worship had not a very large force and the Singalese expected from Ceylon did not arrive in time, and it was not the policy of the Dutch Company at this time to assume the sovereignty of extensive territories, but rather to force petty princes in the neighbourhood of their settlements to enter into contracts for the delivery of products at low prices (that is, to pay a disguised tribute), while it held in sovereignty only the sea-margin of productive hinterlands¹ It appears however from Stein Van Gollennesse's Memoir and papers of 1717 A.D.² that the authorities at Batavia were much dissatisfied with His Worship for being content with a small indemnity and for handing over to the King of Cochin some of the territories ceded by the Zamorin. The revenue of the strip of land retained (Province Paponetty) was not large. The average nett revenue for the five years before Hyder Ali took it was only

¹ P.

² MS. No. 105.

15,000 guilders or 12,500 rupees,¹ while, if Canter Visscher is to be believed, the war had cost the Company nearly two million guilders.²

The Company may have been somewhat ill served, but even had more ambitious counsels prevailed the time was not favourable for acquiring large possessions in Malabar. The second Javanese Succession War shortly afterwards broke out and occupied the Dutch forces for the next five years. Reinforcements could hardly have been spared for Malabar. The finances of the Company would perhaps have permitted them to conduct a war in Malabar as well as the war in Java. 40 per cent. dividend was paid each year from 1715 to 1720, 33½ per cent, in 1721, 30 per cent. in 1722, 12½ per cent. in 1723, 15 per cent. in 1724 and 20 per cent. in 1725, the Company's stock reached 1,260 for every hundred in 1720³ and its credit was excellent. But there was always great difficulty in getting European troops. The pay was not attractive and the mortality, especially on the voyage out and in the dépôt, Batavia, then perhaps the most unhealthy European Station in the East, was appalling. Sufficient Dutchmen could not be procured ; men had to be obtained from the interior of Germany or elsewhere⁴, and the Dutch had at one time French, at another Swiss regiments in their service in the East. In some of their wars they employed considerable armies, but the necessary stiffening of Europeans was always small, and they probably seldom had as many as 10,000 Europeans in their military service in

¹ Figures in MS. No. 1151.

² Canter Visscher, Letter VI.

³ Klerk de Reus, p. 177 and App. VI.

⁴ Lists of soldiers with towns of origin in MS No 1067 and other volumes. The comments quoted by Whitehouse of Anquetil du Perron, who visited Cochin in 1757-8 on the mongrel garrison at that place, may be compared.

the Indies. With a mortality in the European army calculated at from 70 to 120 per thousand, with garrisons in numerous stations which even at minimum strength absorbed many thousands of men, with recruitment very difficult and with only 25 ships of a few hundred tons each a year on an average to convey the new levies from home¹, the Dutch Company was scarcely in a position to conduct a war of conquest in Malabar while it was engaged in Java.

However that may be, the campaign of 1717 restored the Company's prestige in Malabar and there was no further trouble for some years. The next campaigns of importance occurred in a war with the Kingdom of Travancore which lasted from 1739 to 1742.

When the Dutch first came to Malabar, Travancore was a very small principality. According to a report² of Van Goens written in 1675 "Travancore begins with the West Cape of Comorin and ends on the coast about two hours' walk or less north of Tegenapatnam" (a port in Vilavankod Taluk 15 minutes south of the present capital, Trivandrum). On the north along the coast followed the principalities of Attungal (whose rulers permitted the English Company to construct a factory at Anjengo), of Quilon or properly Desinganad (the Signatty) and of Cayenculam. On the north-east Travancore was bordered by the Kingdom of Peritalli and Elayadatu Svarupam. Even the memory of the Kingdom of Peritalli has died out,³ but I find it mentioned in the early English as well as Dutch records. On the 4th of March 1726 the English factors at Tellicherry recorded in their Diary "The Kings of

¹ The facts are from Klerk de Reus, *passim*.

² Apud Valintijn V (I) II. 238.

³ So Mr. Achyuta Menon informs me.

Chinganatta and Perital have joined Vanjamatta and are resolved to crush the King of Travancore."

From 1729 to 1758 an able and ambitious prince, Martanda Varma, reigned in Travancore. He first reduced his own vassals to obedience with the help of the English according to Stein Van Gollennesse,¹ a statement which cannot be fully checked as the Anjengo and Tellicherry records of the time no longer exist, but is confirmed by a letter written in 1757 by the Chief of Anjengo to the Select Committee at Madras.² He then turned his attention to his neighbours. He first (1734 A.D.) attacked Elayadatu Svarupam, in which Peritali had by that time been absorbed, and imprisoned the ruling family in a fort in the hills, where the King died in 1741.³ The acquisition doubled his dominions. In the same year he attacked the Raja of Cayanculam, who fell in battle on the first of June 1734.⁴ The Signatty of Quilon, who had had previous differences with Martanda Varma and was the nephew of the Raja of Cayanculam, declared Cayanculam absorbed in his State and continued the war.

It was to the interest of the Dutch to maintain the position they had acquired of arbitrators in Malabar, to prevent any one prince growing too powerful, and to stop encroachments on the principalities of Cayanculam and Quilon, where they had factories. The conquest of Peritali and Elayadatu Svarupam, the peaceful absorption of Attungal on which Travancore had a claim through his mother,⁵ and the practical absorption

¹ P.

² Fort St. George records. Military Conss, No. 8. "It's to be remarked that by the help of the Hon'ble Company he [Travancore] was first enabled to acquire an influence in the country"

³ Stein Van Gollennesse p.

⁴ MS. No. 203.

⁵ Moens p.

of another small principality called "Marta" between (Quilon and Purakad) by the succession thereto of a female member of Travancore's own family, alarmed the Dutch. Eventually it was determined to take the field on behalf of the Signatty and of the imprisoned prince of Elayadatu Svarupam.

The Commandeur of Cochin was not in 1739 as in 1717 a corrupt ex-"Centinell" destined to be tried for incompetency but the author of one of the Memoirs here translated, Stein Van Gollenesse, a man of good family, afterwards promoted to be Governor of Ceylon and member of the Batavia Council; and a superior officer of the Company, the ordinary Member of Council, Van Imhoff, who made a short visit to Malabar at the beginning of the year 1739 and seems to have suggested the policy of war,¹ was an even more distinguished personage than the Right Worshipful Willem Bakker Jacobsz. Gustaaf Willem, Baron Van Imhoff, was member of a family of nobles. The monument to a relative in Wolfendal church, Ceylon, displays sixteen quarterings.² He was born on the 8th of August 1705, came out to the East in 1725, became Councillor Extraordinary in 1732 and in 1736 Ordinary Councillor and Governor of Ceylon. In 1738 he was at home on leave and made so good an impression on the Directors that they resolved to appoint him Governor-General at the next vacancy,³ and he was in fact destined to be one of the most distinguished of the Dutch Governor-Generals in the East.

His Worship was an able and energetic man. He seems to have concluded that the system under which

¹ (a) Diary of Van Imhoff, January to March 1739, MS. No. 281.

(b) Stavorinus and Report of Van Imhoff, dated 6th July 1739, quoted by him.

² Antonisz' Dutch Records at Colombo.

³ Enc. Van Nederl. Indie.

the Dutch had endeavoured to act as arbitrators in Malabar and to content themselves with a tribute in products to be delivered at a price much below that of the market, had broken down. The action of a single ambitious prince had shown that the system could not be maintained without a considerable force. Malabar must either become an ordinary commercial settlement, like the English or Danish factories on the coast, and buy products at the market price, or the Company must establish its sovereignty over the country. The second of the two policies was adopted and war was declared on Travancore. The position being critical, reinforcements from Batavia were not awaited. A few companies arrived from Ceylon and the campaign was opened with these and the Malabar garrison. A history of the war which ensued could be written from the diaries and other papers of the time. A summary will be found in the foot-note at page . . . below. It will be sufficient to say here that it never became much more than "a defensive and auxiliary war" as Moens calls it, because events in Java in which Van In-hoff himself bore a great part, while they resulted in establishing a Dutch empire in that great and rich island, made it impossible for the Company to despatch troops to Malabar. After four campaigns Travancore had become more powerful than he had ever been before, the Dutch were compelled to recognise all his claims, and the schemes for large territorial acquisitions on the West Coast of India were dropped by the Company, though we still find Stein Van Gollennesse writing in 1743¹: "Should the Hon'ble Company at any time have a great force in India and occasion permit us to push the matter energetically, my opinion would be that it would suffice to *make*

¹ P.

ourselves completely masters of the states of Peritali and Vadacancur." The Dutch, he goes on to say, had previously "conquered the coast," but the 'sovereignty of the coast was insufficient, as pepper could be exported inland, and the only way to secure an unfailing supply of cheap pepper was to assume the sovereignty of tracts in which the spice grew

Even this modified imperialistic scheme came to nothing, and in 1753 the Dutch finally came to terms with Martanda Varma. They were not to stand in the way of Travancore absorbing all the petty principalities of South Malabar¹, and were to supply him with 12,000 rupees worth of arms annually on payment². He on his part was to supply them with all the piece-goods manufactured in his country with 1,500,000lbs of pepper from his hereditary possession (Travancore and Attungul) at Rs 65 per candy (500lbs. Dutch³) and with another million from the principalities "he had conquered or might conquer through the neutral attitude of the said Company". By this treaty the Dutch reverted to their traditional policy of recognising a native prince in return for an indirect tribute paid in kind. The market price of pepper of course varied; but I find from the Tellicherry Diaries that it was Rs. 100 a candy of 520lbs English (Diary 1740-1, p. 69) in December 1740, Rs 104 a little later, Rs. 98 in April 1741, Rs. 116 in March 1742, Rs. 95 for a supply of 410 candies obtained from Ezechiël Rabbi of Cochin in December 1743, and in general the price seems to have been never much less than Rs. 100 during the next forty years. On the 28th of February 1780 the

¹ From article 9 of the Treaty.

² From article 20 of the Treaty.

³ From article 4 of the Treaty.

⁴ From article 6 of the Treaty.

Tellicherry factors shipped a cargo of 939 candies odd of the invoice value of Rs. 1,14,000 odd (Rs. 121 per candy). In the same year out of a total of 1,065,249 lbs. collected by Governor Moens at Cochin, 1,001,959 lbs. were supplied by Travancore at Rs. 65 per candy². The indirect tribute paid by Travancore to the Dutch in that year may accordingly be reckoned at over a lakh of Rs. (2,000 × Rs. 50). It would have been about three lakhs of rupees if the full amount stipulated for by the treaty of 1753 had been supplied. But Travancore argued that the 2,000 candies to be supplied from lands conquered or to be conquered were not due as the Dutch had by preventing him absorbing the kingdoms of Cochin and Calicut not fulfilled their part of the bargain³, and he usually did not even supply the full 3,000 candies or million and a half pounds due from his hereditary territory on the plea that that small territory did not yield so much—which may have been true. Martanda Varma at any rate, in the opinion of Commandeur F. Cunes, who wrote a Memoir⁴ in 1756, three years after the conclusion of the treaty, honestly intended to deliver the full amount, and if his successors were lax in making the supply, it must be remembered that they could obtain the war material of which they stood in need from other European nations who were willing to pay a higher price for pepper. “A candy of pepper for every musket you let me have” was a proposal made by Martanda

² Accounts in MS. No. 1136. The Anjengo factors were getting pepper from Travancore at the same time at Rs. 82 a candy, but that was under special contract, and they supplied him with arms in return. In 1793 the English Company contracted with Travancore for 3,000 candies of 560lbs at Rs 115 per candy and with Cochin for candies of 500 Dutch lbs. or 540 English lbs. at the same price, in 1795 with Travancore for 3,000 candies of 560lbs. at Rs. 130 (Logan's Treaties, pp. 174, 184, 234).

³ Moens p.

⁴ MS. No. 593.

Varma to the Anjengo factors in 1744¹; on the 19th of February 1780 the Anjengo factors received "600 stand of new Arms for the King of Travancore;²" and the following passage from a letter written by the Chief of Anjengo in 1757 illustrates the point: "As the Dutch on one side supplied him (Travancore) with arms, etc., and the Danes and other Europeans at times did the same at Coletchy, for which they got pepper, he withheld pepper from us under pretence that we show'd ourselves less friendly to him than others. Therefore, tho' reluctantly, the Hon'ble Company were necessitated to submit to the said evil other Europeans had indulged him in³."

The political result of the Dutch policy was that Travancore absorbed all the smaller principalities south of Cochin and a part of Cochin itself and attained its present dimensions, while Cochin continued to exist at all only because it was under the immediate protection of the Dutch and the Calicut Kingdom perhaps only because the Dutch Cochin barred the way. Travancore maintained a considerable army partly trained by Dutch deserters, of whom Lannoy and Duyvenschot are specially mentioned by Moens⁴ as the most important. Stein van Gollennesse's administration regarded the reported appointment of Duyvenschot to command the King of Travancore's forces as a most serious danger, and an attempt by Travancore to storm Quilon in July 1742 was attributed to his influence⁵. Lannoy was afterwards appointed Commander-in-Chief of Martanda Varma's disciplined forces, said to have amounted to

¹ Anjengo MS. Diary.

² Anjengo Diary.

³ Fort St. George Records, Military Department General No. 8, p. 899.

⁴ P.

⁵ Letters to Batavia of October 1741 and August 1742 in MS. No. 335.

50,000 men¹, and served him and his successors for 37 years (1740 to 1777)². He died at the age of 62 while giving the finishing touches to the famous Travancore lines which checked Hyder Ali and Tippu. The resistance offered by Travancore to the formidable armies of Mysore at a time when they were disputing the British supremacy in South India is a historical fact of no small importance. The Dutch policy assisted in the creation of a strong state out of the numerous principalities of South Malabar and Dutchmen commanded the forces of Travancore for thirty-five years and fortified his frontiers.

IX.

Such was the actual course of events. The fact that the Dutch had entertained plans for the acquisition of territorial sovereignty in India before Dupleix and Clive had shown the way is not generally known and it may be worth while to explain why the determined and energetic Van Imhoff, who seems to have been their originator, did not execute them when in 1742 he became the Dutch Governor-General and could dispose of all the Company's forces.

There is an interesting contemporary entry in the Tellicherry Diary under date 24th July 1742. "The Dutch at Cannanore inform that Baron Imhoff is coming General to Batavia with thirty-six men of war." Congratulations were sent by the English factors "on such a fleet as we had not heard of before in India." Stein Van Gollennesse tells us³ that on hearing the news

¹ Nagam Aiyar Travancore Manual, 1358; Shungoony Menon's History of Travancore, p. 165; both statements perhaps resting on Fra Paolino, Foster's translation, p. 173.

² His Latin epitaph at Udayagiri (in Cotton, p. 376).

³ P

of Van Imhoff's return to India as Governor-General Travancore "hurriedly returned with his army to his own country" and sued for peace "in very polite terms" and as late as November 1744 he is reported by the Anjengo factors as still "very apprehensive" that the Dutch would attack him again.¹ Why did the new Governor-General not fulfil the general expectation and send to Malabar forces which would have made it possible to carry out what seems to have been his own old policy?

In 1729 began what is called "the black period" of the Company's rule. In 1731 the Governor-General Diedrik Durven, three members of the Supreme Council and other officers were removed from office and recalled to Europe. They were not put on their trial and clear proofs of the charges against them are not now available. But it was notorious that the administration, political, commercial and judicial, had become corrupt, and it is believed that the main charges against Durven were of selling appointments, and of impaling Chinese alive and letting them die of slow torture in public; at any rate these are among the charges advanced in the pamphlets of the day. Ceylon had suffered from similar tyranny and a Governor, Peter Vuijst, had been found guilty of cruelty, oppression, corruption and judicial murders, and had suffered a shameful death on the scaffold at Batavia.

For a hundred years no Governor-General had been appointed from home. A member of the Council, usually chosen by the Council itself, had succeeded on a vacancy occurring. Such a man could not be without his likings and prejudices; he had usually formed family ties in the east; he had had his quarrels with other members of the service. The post of Governor-

¹ Anjengo Diary.

General was often won by intrigue and used to pay off old scores or to reward partisans. The service was full of cliques, and a clique which had made its way into the Council Chamber was bitterly opposed by the cliques which had been unsuccessful, while the Council itself was often divided.

In the year 1740 Van Imhoff was a member of council at Batavia. He had for years been an enemy of the Governor-General Valkenier, who had reached that eminence in 1737 after being passed over in 1735 for one Patras, a feeble old man. In the long secret letters that Valkenier had occasion to write some years later he put down his supersession in 1735 to the opposition of Van Imhoff. In 1740 violent quarrels broke out between Van Imhoff and Valkenier.¹

The Council was at that time confronted with a problem of great difficulty. The settlement of the Dutch in Java had led to a large immigration of Chinese. The Chinese were not easy people to deal with, and the Dutch had from time to time forbidden their settlement in Batavia or required them to take out residential licenses. With the civil service as corrupt as it was at this time the system of licenses led to manifold abuses. The rich Chinese were squeezed, the poor were driven from their occupations and trades and a large class was formed of Chinese tramps, criminals and bandits. In 1740 the Dutch became seriously alarmed and on the 25th of July a resolution was passed in Council that all suspect wandering Chinese, even if provided with licenses, should be arrested.

Van Imhoff brought forward this resolution. Valkenier opposed it. But Van Imhoff commanded the stronger party in the Council and it was carried.

¹ I follow De Jonge, Vol. VIII in my account of these transactions.

Many honest Chinese were imprisoned under the resolution, and the rumour among them was that the prisoners were to be put on ships on the pretext of being taken to the Cape, and drowned on the way. On the 26th of September news arrived that the Chinese in the highlands were forming themselves into bands of 50 and 100 men under separate commandants and providing themselves with arms. In the Council Chamber Van Imhoff complained of the oppressive way in which the resolution of July had been carried out and of the general squeezing and oppression of the Chinese. Valkenier pretended to be surprised and declared that he knew nothing about it. Meanwhile the town was put in a position of defence, and all kinds of rumours went about regarding the intentions of the roving bands outside and of the Chinese population of Batavia. Actual attacks from outside followed on the night of the 8th of October, but were repulsed, the members of Council commanding detachments at the different gates of the town. Batavia had passed a very unpleasant wakeful night and when the Council met at six o'clock on the morning of the 9th of October, Valkenier proposed that "whereas in the past night the Chinese nation had not hesitated to attack the outposts weapons in hand and to show themselves and commit hostilities before the very walls and gates of the town, this nation should be declared enemies of the Company and *the town cleared of Chinese*, who were to be found within the same in great numbers, in order that the enemy should not have to be forced within and without the town at the same time." Van Imhoff was not for violent measures. He proposed sorties to discover what was going on outside the town, a pacificatory proclamation and the inspection of all Chinese houses in the town,

those in whose houses arms were found to be imprisoned, the rest to be left unmolested on condition that they did not leave their houses after half-past seven. Van Imhoff's proposal was approved, the register of resolutions recording that it was strongly opposed by the Governor-General "who was of opinion that the Chinese in general must be declared enemies of the State and that the first thing to do was to *wipe the town clear of them from within* if we wished to place ourselves in a position to attack the enemy outside."

Orders were given to carry out Van Imhoff's proposal. Meanwhile a fire broke out in the Chinese quarter. It was believed by some to have been lighted by the Chinese with the purpose of destroying the town. Others afterwards declared it was the work of Europeans. At the same time the magisterial officers charged with the execution of the resolution that the Chinese houses should be searched arrived with their numerous following. The escort mixed with the crowd which had been attracted by the fire. Misunderstanding, or taking advantage of, the presence of the officers, a mob of Europeans began to plunder the houses of the Chinese and massacre the inhabitants. In the next two days they massacred every Chinese man, woman and child they could find, 10,000 altogether it is said, even the prisoners in the jails and the sick from the hospital.

Valkenier was accused of having ordered the general massacre. He denied it to the day of his death, but certainly did not raise a finger to prevent it, and on the 10th of October he issued an order that the Chinese in the hospital should be turned out into the streets, knowing of course what their fate would be.

Nor can Van Imhoff and his party, who afterwards vaunted their outraged feelings and their innocence, be acquitted of blame. They seem to have done nothing to stop the massacre, though a week after, on the 17th of October, Van Imhoff laid a written declaration on the table in Council that he was in no way responsible for the horrible massacre on the 9th, left the responsibility to those who had given the orders for it, and had no desire to participate in the consequences of that "unheard of" event though he would gladly help to restore order. He then carried a resolution to the effect that the responsibility for the massacre of the Chinese was left to those that had ordered it and that a general amnesty should be offered to all Chinese who laid down their arms within a month. Valkenier protested, but was outvoted.

The panic in the town died down and measures were taken to deal with the roving Chinese bands ; but the quarrels in Council reached such a point that on the 6th of December Valkenier placed Van Imhoff and two other councillors under military arrest and on the 10th of January 1741 sent them home in arrest.

Meanwhile orders, dated December 1740, arrived in Batavia appointing Van Imhoff Governor-General in succession to Valkenier. Valkenier started home in November 1741 leaving a locum tenens in charge. On arriving at the Cape in January 1742 he found himself in military arrest under orders from the Directors that he should be sent back a prisoner to Batavia to stand his trial. Van Imhoff had arrived in Holland and told his story.

Valkenier's trial was never concluded. He languished in jail till he died on the 20th of June 1751. The charges took long to draw up, still longer to

answer. Valkenier asked for copies of an enormous number of papers. His answer to the charges, which was handed in in December 1744, consisted of no less than 12,333 (twelve thousand three hundred and thirty-three) paragraphs. He was accused of selling offices as well as of crimes under various heads in connection with the massacre and with the arbitrary arrest of the three councillors. The 12,333 paragraphs naturally afforded opportunities for further replies, counter-replies, demands for documents and applications to the Courts. His death broke off criminal proceedings which had lasted nine and a half years. They were followed by civil proceedings regarding his estate of some £60,000 sterling, which lasted another $8\frac{3}{4}$ years.

Meanwhile Van Imhoff was Governor-General from 1743 to 1750. The Chinese bands and the Javanese who had joined them had been overcome before he returned to India after some very severe fighting and with the result that the Company claimed supremacy in all Java. But that supremacy was again challenged in 1745 in a war which lasted from 1747 to 1755, is known as the Third Javanese Succession War and really left the Company sovereigns of Java. While the Company was putting out all its strength and spending millions of guilders¹ in Java, it could not afford to conduct wars in Malabar. And that is why Van Imhoff, though he arrived "with such a fleet as had not before been heard of in India," could not send troops to Malabar to carry out what may once have been his own ideas.

(To be continued.)

¹ Klerk de Reus xxxviii Note.

Art. IV.—THE LETTERS OF A GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY, 1839-1841.*

(Continued from page 608.)

71.—THE RIGHT HONORABLE SIR JOHN HOBHOUSE, BART.

MAHABELASWAR, 21st May 1840.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—I have had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 4th of last month—the Mail by which it was conveyed reached Bombay in 32 days, and would have done so within a Calendar month, had there not been some detention and owing to mismanagement at Aden. Our new ship the *Victoria* has surpassed our best expectations as to her speed, and shews what could be done with an establishment of efficient vessels. I thank you sincerely for the dispatch on the Sattarah case, it is all that could be desired, and has given us all satisfaction. I conclude however that this will not terminate discussion, either in Parliament or in the Court of Proprietors, or perhaps in both. The present Rajah, who is now with me here on a visit is going on admirably, and his conduct since his accession refutes the tales which were told of him in England.

With regard to Aden, I agree with you that we cannot now retire from it, in the critical state of our Egyptian relations. Its acquisition may have tended to raise the apprehensions of Mahomed Ali, and I have hardly a doubt that our retention of it will be made a question in any ultimate settlement with the Pacha. There have been some discreditable disputes between Captain Haines and the Officer Commanding the Troops in which the latter has mostly been in the wrong, and I have been compelled to propose his removal. By our last accounts, the communications with the interior were open, and so little indeed was a serious attack apprehended from the Arabs that though left discretionary with the

* The letter copy book in which these letters are entered was purchased by Mr. Firminger at a book sale by auction at Calcutta. The letters are copied neatly by a clerk, but one or two seem to be in Sir James' own hand.

Political Agent, he and the Commanding Officer have sent away the Battation which we proposed to relieve. Many persons too have repaired ; apparently to settle at Aden from Mocha owing to the Egyptian Troops having been withdrawn from that quarter, and on the whole matters were satisfactory.

As to the Persian Gulph, we have sent every available vessel, to which will be added the *Sesostris* which the Governor-General has made over to this Government for the purpose of being employed on the Gulph service. By September I hope to see our new Steam Frigate the *Auckland* in a forward state of preparation and this addition will suffice for the present. I do not deny that one or two men of war would render us more complete, but how we are to obtain them is a question, certainly not from the Indian Squadron during our Chinese operations. I hear nothing from the Gulph of Persia which leads me to expect that Khoorshed Pacha will prosecute the designs imputed to him against the Maritime states. His troops are said to be destined, or the greater part of them, to join their Master the Pacha in Egypt. This for the present relieves us from all fears of Khoorshed Pacha ; in the meanwhile we have sent the Treaty to the Imaum of Muscat and stationed an European Agent with His Highness. Of the movements of the Shah of Persia we have neither speedy nor accurate intelligence. His advance to Ispahan and reported intention of going to Sherauz may be occasioned by the unsettled state of those Provinces, or he may have in view some attack on Bagdad, in that case, what we are to do, I am rather at a loss to imagine, it appears to me possible that Mahomed Ali and the Shah understand each other at the proper opportunity, and that there is a design of embroiling us on all sides. How far Russia may be engaged in such design, I must leave the wiser heads than mine to solve, but as to her professions I confess that I am exceedingly doubtful. I heard by the last Mail that the expedition to Khiva had entirely failed. I hear now from Cabool that the Russians are within a hundred miles of Khiva and so often has this been repeated that I am inclined to give it credence. I have furnished the Secret Committee with all the intelligence which I

have gathered from Affganistan from my private correspondents. I hope that they will see no reason to disapprove of my having sent up the Body of recruits for the Corps in Upper and Lower Scinde and retained the Madras Corps under this Presidency stationed at Malligaum, and Ahmednuggur. I foresee the necessity of some Military demonstration after the rains towards Candahar and of operations in the Punjab about the same time. We shall then have the means of taking up the ground of our advanced Corps or for any other service which may be required of us in these troubled times.

Now to proceed to local concerns. Mr. Gibbard after having been dismissed the service is to undergo trial in the Supreme Court at Bombay on the prosecution of the parent of one of the parties whom he had executed. As to Mr. Spooner I quite think with you that he deserved instant removal from his office, in fact I had proposed it and was over-ruled by my Council and you will see by the Minutes recorded on the occasion. I may add that the letter reporting our proceedings to the Court had never been seen by me until after dispatch, or it would not have been received my entire approbation. The urgency of the sailing of the Steamer was the cause assigned for its not having been sent up and it appeared to me a most insufficient reason, but on the other hand what was to be done but shortly to record the facts. Yesterday we received the comments of the Government of India in this very letter in which it observes that Mr. Spooner ought to have been suspended the service until the pleasure of the Court of Directors was known. Upon this I have again proposed that gentleman's removal, and I think that I will take it upon myself, if there should be a demur about it. The Guicower continues slowly to give satisfaction—true it is only bit by bit, but that is of no consequence so long as we get what we have a right to demand. I hear nothing lately of the Missionaries, beyond what I sent you the other day in a pamphlet and issued by some one of the party.

I had executed your original commission for six horses for Her Majesty, before I received your letter to say that *four* would be enough. As for China, we have given Lord

Auckland everything that he wanted and were ready to give more. He has officially written to thank us. I confess that I am a little anxious about the result of Sir James Graham's motion.

Believe me,
Yours very truly,
(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC. •

72.—W. B. BAYLEY, ESQ.,
etc., etc., etc.

MAHABELASWAR, 21st May 1840.

MY DEAR BAYLEY,—My warmest thanks are due to you for your letter of the 4th April. The decision you have sent me on the Sattarah case is ample in all respects and to my friends in the Chair I am indebted for this handsome acknowledgment of my services on that unfortunate occasion. I wish there was an end to it, but I fear when the papers are given discussion will be revived, perhaps in Parliament and certainly in the Court of Proprietors. I regret this for the trouble it may give you, but I observed with great pleasure that in Jenkins' absence from illness you presided in the Proprietors with your accustomed ability.

I know not how I can do better than send you a copy of my letter of this date to Sir John Hobhouse which will save me from much repetition. You will see that I am sceptical about the failure of the expedition to Khiva. I hope we do not allow the Russians to throw dust in our eyes, though I am quite aware of our bias against everything Russian in this quarter. Macnaghten and Burnes, both of whom maintain a regular correspondence with me, stoutly declare the continued advance of a Russian Army, and the threatened occupation of Bokhara. A very short time will determine the question. I see nothing for it but interference in some shape with the Punjab. As doubtful friends they are worse than open enemies. Lord Auckland, I presume, will take some steps after the monsoon. We have just now before us a ticklish point to settle. Angria, Chief of Colabah, is just dead and there is not a legitimate Angria in existence—the widow asks leave for adoption from the illegitimate stock which has

frequently been the custom in the family, and indeed the Rajah with whom we made a treaty in 1822 was himself descended from illegitimacy—the question is, how are we to act in such a case? I am inclined to grant leave, from my desire of preserving the little native states which surround us, but my Council I suspect think quite differently and view the State as an escheat. I am afraid also of the Government of India to whom the whole matter must go.

I hope that your doubts about the China motion will not be realised. I am under the same apprehension as yourself and would like to see it well over. Most glad am I of the opinion you have formed of Sir John Hobhouse; whatever may be some of his defects and (who is without them) he is a straightforward honest man, and I was sure, as I told you long ago, that you would agree admirably. I should be sorry if in your Chairmanship you became officially separated.

I beg you will thank Mrs. Bayley for her very kind note; tell her that I shall not forget her young friend Walpole Clarke who has already given proof of his value in the Irregular Horse in Scind. He had been unwell, but he is now himself again, and after the Beloches.

Lady Carnac and my daughter cordially join in kindest regards to Mrs. Bayley and yourself. We are all, thank God, hitherto in good health and I have had no gout since I came to this country. My congratulations to Lyall and best wishes to him in his new and arduous position.

Ever my dear Bayley,
Most sincerely yours,
(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

73.—SIR WILLIAM MACNAGHTEN, BART.
etc., etc., etc.

MAHABELASWAR, 22nd May 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 16th and 25th of last month, your despatches to the Secret Committee which accompanied the first communication have reached me but not those by the last. It is possible that they may have arrived at Bombay in time for the

steamer to be despatched to Suez to-morrow, but, to ensure the information getting home quickly, I have made an extract from your letter to me for the information of the Committee. I hope this mail may be as expeditious as the last we received from England—it was delivered at Bombay in 32 days from London!! By the letters which we had by it, I was informed that the Russian Expedition to Khiva *had totally failed*, and they congratulated us on the event, as enabling Lord Auckland to withdraw our troops across the Indus. I am much more disposed to rely upon your information, that the Russians had nearly reached Khiva; than on that of my Lord Clanricarde of their discomfiture, independent of your having better means of obtaining intelligence than through the interested representations of the Court of Persia. We have so often found her professions contradicted by facts, that I am led to consider her statement to our Ambassador at St. Petersburg to be a cloak to cover her designs. The treaty with Bokhara which you mention, is quite in character and clearly establishes her determination *at least* to have the supremacy north of the Oxus.

I have done all that I dare do on my own authority in the way of supporting you; the whole of the Recruits in Upper and Lower Scind, amounting altogether I should think to more than 1,000 men, have been sent up, with 3,000 stands of arms to be placed at your disposal at Sukkur. I have also detained two corps here of the Madras establishment serving under this Presidency in the absence of troops which have returned from Scind in order that we might have a dispensable force for service. I expect to hear of some outbreak by the Seiks, or that you will want a force at or near Candahar shortly after the rains. Our accounts from Egypt give me ground to expect that Mahomed Ali will resist the surrender of the Turkish fleet which has been demanded of him, and that war with him is more than probable. What with Persia, who I believe to be in league with the Pacha, the Russians, and Seiks, our political horizon is a good deal overcast.

I see in the newspapers a report that you are in October to succeed to the Lieutenant-Governorship of the North-

Western Provinces. I sincerely hope that it may be true, if you wish the appointment, and that the management of the Seiks may be committed to your hands.

Believe me,

My Dear Sir,

Very sincerely yours,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

74.—SIR WILLIAM MACNAGHTEN, BART.

MAHABELASWAR, *3rd June* 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,—My last letter to you was dated the 22nd of last month, since which I have been favoured with your communications of the 30th of April and 5th ultimo. I have taken measures to have a return of the Ordnance in store, as well as of small arms, in order that supplies may be furnished to you on the opening of the season. You may be sure at all times of a zealous and active co-operation from Bombay in any way which you may point out. I hope that you have had advices by this time of the 3,000 stand of arms which we sent to Sukkur to be placed at your disposal and that we had dispatched all the recruits for the corps in Upper and Lower Scind. I had this morning a letter from Lord Auckland, dated the 21st of May, in which, with reference to what you had written to him of your correspondence with me, he desires me to be prepared to re-inforce the force at Sukkur in the autumn, he says “in the event of an active rupture with the Seiks it might be possible to act upon the Southern districts of the Punjab from that direction. I cannot but believe that the Agents and dependants of the Seik Durbar have been acting with great rashness and impropriety, but I look with confidence to disavowal and redress.”

I should be glad to know from you to what extent you conceive that the Sukkur force should be augmented, and who you would wish to command it. I should on first impressions say that no one could be better qualified than Colonel Stevenson, but he is junior in rank, and there may be difficulties if the force under his command is much augmented in keeping off officers senior to him. For example, if an accession of

Europeans is wanted, the 40th at Kerachee is nearest at hand and in complete order in all respects, but its Colonel is very far senior to Colonel Stevenson.

I should have thought that Major Todd's plan of attacking Ghorian might have been delayed until the Shah of Persia had committed himself by some overt act of hostility. His Majesty's advance to the Southern Provinces of his Kingdom, I believe to be connected with some plan conjointly with Mahomed Ali of attacking the Turkish possessions in Arabia, perhaps Bagdad itself. It is not likely that he can long remain in his present negative position, and our attacking Ghorian would give him a fair pretext for open war. Lord Auckland by his advices from England by the last mail seems to think the discomfiture of the Russian expedition to Khiva, quite certain. I need not repeat that I have no such dependance on these accounts : their progress has, I dare say, been interrupted, but they will advance again on the opening of the season, and make short work of the Khivians.

I was exceedingly sorry to hear of Sir Alexander Burnes' illness, for he is too valuable to lose even temporarily. I trust the next accounts which I have from your quarter will state that he is quite well again. The cholera has, and is, making great ravages amongst the native population. Chiefly under this Presidency, we have had the hottest season known for the last 40 years, and are anxiously looking out for the setting in of the monsoon.

Believe me,
Yours most sincerely,
(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

75.—THE HON'BLE T. C. ROBERTSON,
etc., etc., etc.

POONA, 13th June 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have had the pleasure to receive your note, forwarding to me the duplicate of a despatch from Sir William Macnaghten to the Governor-General in Council a copy of which will be transmitted to the Secret Committee by the steamer to be despatched by way of the Persian Gulph on the 22nd instant.

It is very satisfactory to find that Mr. Clerk* has been so well received by the Lahore Durbar and that as far as promises go, they have shown a disposition to meet our wishes. The question remains to be proved whether they have the ability to repress the rebellious conduct of their feudatories giving them credit for sincerity in wishing to do so. In case they cannot, they must leave the task to us and facilitate our means of effecting it.

We are in anxious expectation of our May packet, which is overdue, and if there is much more detention I shall begin to apprehend that a rupture with Egypt has taken place.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Very sincerely yours,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

76.—SIR WILLIAM MACNAGHTEN, BART.

DAPOOREE, NEAR POONA, 13th June 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,—I thank you much for your kind letters of the 12th and 13th of last month, the last enclosing the duplicate of your important public despatch to the Governor-General in Council which was forwarded to me by Mr. Robertson† from Agra. By my late letters from Lord Auckland, I think that his Lordship feels impressed with the necessity of adopting a vigorous course of policy with the Lahore Durbar, when the season opens for operations, in the meanwhile he will try the effect of remonstrance.

Our position in Affganistan is much changed by the indications we have had of Russian designs in Central Asia. I never had indeed any sanguine hopes that we could venture to leave Shah Sujah to his own means for a considerable length of time, but now that Russia has fairly brought her Legions forward, the permanent occupation of Affganistan is a measure called for, for the safety of our Indian Empire, so long as Russia maintains the attitude which she has assumed. You are so fully in possession of my humble sentiments

* Sir George Russell Clerk. Envoy at Lahore 1842. See notice in Buckland *Dictionary of Indian Biography*.

† Thomas Campbell Robertson, Lieutenant-Governor, N.-W. P., 1840—1842. Provisional Governor-General. See Buckland. *Dictionary Indian Biography*.

respecting the Seiks that I need not recapitulate them. Presuming that we have good grounds of quarrel with them, in the course of my correspondence with Lord Auckland, I have ventured to advert to what I consider we should hold in view, *viz.*, the establishment of a subsidiary force at Lahore, the occupation of Attock as a military post, the cession of Cashmere to meet the subsidy, and the surrender of all countries west of the Indus to Shah Sujah. This it appears to me would produce all that we could want in the way of security for the exclusion of Russian influence and intrigue, and for our safety in Affganistan. But there may be a thousand difficulties to contend with to secure these objects with which I may be unacquainted, the greatest perhaps may be a full and sufficient ground for going to war.

I hope that by this time you have had advices of the 3,000 Musquets sent to Sukkur to await your orders. With regard to the advance which we will send when the season opens, perhaps you can give me some idea of what you consider best with reference to the means of transport to Candahar or Herat. Mortars and howitzers would probably answer better than large and heavy guns. No doubt the route by Soumeanee and Kelat to Candahar would in all respects but one be the most preferable, but the want of passable roads for the present will oblige us I fancy to forward our heavy supplies to you by the way of the Indus.

I am waiting with some anxiety for the receipt of our May mail, which is overdue, and if there should be much more detention, I shall begin to apprehend a rupture with Egypt. This packet I expect will disclose to us the views of the Cabinet of St. Petersburg in the expedition to Khiva.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Yours most sincerely,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

77.—RIGHT HON'BLE SIR JOHN HOBHOUSE, BART.

etc.,

etc.,

etc.

DAPOOREE NEAR POONA, 19th June 1840.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—I had this morning the pleasure of receiving your two letters of the 4th of last month. The delay

in receiving them has arisen from the circumstance that at this season of the year our mails by the Red Sea are conveyed to us from Aden by a sailing vessel. I will reply to these letters before I proceed to enter upon topics of passing interest.

I am glad that you think that I have done well in regard to the outfit of the steamers for the Indus. Our reports of the navigability of that river are not very promising, and Lord Auckland has resolved to withdraw the "Indus" after the rains with a view to its adaptation for general purposes. We shall go on with the other vessels, some if not all of which may be found to answer at least for the main river, with a little more experience of its obstructions. I have had no more trouble with Her Majesty's Judges in the construction of our boats in the Dockyard, nor has any thing gone on the subject to Bengal, though I confess that they gave us provocation. It is very gratifying to hear from you that you think we shall avoid direct hostilities with Mahomed Ali of Egypt. I do not hear anything lately from the Persian Gulph or Arabia to give us apprehension of him in that quarter. I am delighted to see that you have requested the Governor-General to prolong his stay among us ; he has now got a complete insight into his business, and conducts it with an ability which those unknown to him never expected. With regard to Lieutenant Lynch, I have taken care that in all his movements and operations he is independent of all authority but the Resident at Bagdad, or such orders as he may receive from the Secret Committee. The differences which have arisen between him and Captain Oliver have been about the outfit of his boats and some forms of office ; and, as Lieutenant Lynch indented *extravagantly* for stores and officers far beyond our means of compliance (in which Lord Auckland concurred), we could only do our *best* with the heavy demands upon us which I fear fell short of his expectation. It was necessary also, as Her Majesty's Government is to pay for the expenses of the Flotilla, that we should have the regular vouchers for disbursements and the usual returns for our defence when the day of reckoning arrived. These I believe he now furnishes,

and he may be sure of having cordial assistance from me in promoting the important object of his employment.

I now proceed to give you the intelligence of this quarter since my last communication of the 21st of May. Our accounts from Affganistan and Upper Sind have lately been far from satisfactory. I had heard from Sir William Macnaghten that the Seiks at Peshawar had been inciting rebellion among the Shah's subjects, and he wrote urgently for some decided measures with the Court of Lahore and for reinforcements through the Punjab. The advance of the Russians to Khiva had given encouragement to these intrigues. I wrote as emphatically as I could to Lord Auckland, and went as far as my authority would allow me by sending off 700 recruits to join their corps in Upper and Lower Sind, and instantly complying with Sir William Macnaghten's request for a supply of 3,000 Musquets to be sent to Sukkur to await his orders. Of this Lord Auckland entirely approved. Within these few days we have accounts of the Gilzai tribes being in open rebellion between Candahar and Ghuznee and that they had been defeated by a force of the Shah's regular troops. At the same time we heard of the Baloochees below the Bolan Pass being in open arms, and that they had cut up to a man two separate detachments of 75 men each belonging to the Bombay 5th Regiment of Native Infantry and the only officer with one of them, Lieutenant Clarke of the Sind Irregular Horse, one of our most gallant and promising officers. This is to be deplored, not only because it will elate the Baloochees, but likewise because it may depress the spirit of our sepoy, the Native Regiment at Karachee has been ordered to proceed forthwith to Sukkur. It remains for the Governor-General to cause enquiries to be made, how the details have been placed in a situation which led to their destruction ; we possess *no information* on this point except that they had gone to a post established at a place called Kahim, and which place I fear the officer in Command (Captain Lewis Brown) will now find it difficult to maintain, for at this season of the year I am told that he cannot easily be reinforced or supported ; but was it not a blunder in a military point of view attempting to establish

this post? The Sukkur Brigade is weak in European officers, and I will endeavour as soon as possible to increase their number. I have written at the pointed request of Sir William Macnaghten to the Governor-General my opinion as to what should be done with the Seiks, and what I verily believe it must come to sooner or later; in the meanwhile Mr. Robertson at Agra writes me that Mr. Clerk our Agent in the Punjab had a most courteous reception and many fair promises, but I have no faith in these people—our relations with them for our security in Affganistan must be placed on a different footing, though Lord Auckland will not perhaps go the length I would wish to see.

Our accounts also from Aden are not favourable—the Arabs have made another attack and were easily beaten off, but we have just got letters from Captain Haines stating that it was to be renewed on the 7th or 8th of this month which will require all the best energies of the troops to defeat. Captain Haines is now calling for reinforcements which must be sent up, though it was but the other day that when we left it to his own judgement and discretion to retain a battalion which was to be relieved by another, he thought it unnecessary to do so.

We have too melancholy accounts this morning from Bombay in the loss of the ship *Lord William Bentinck* from London; of the whole party on board it is said only Captain Benbow, Lieutenant Coombe and another young officer with about 70 recruits and 7 or 8 seamen are saved. The rest all drowned, and I believe there were at least 160 recruits and 10 passengers; it is a most horrible accident, but the worst of it is that seeing her lights before she went to pieces, the *Castlereagh* with some of the 24th Regiment N.I. coming down from Karrack struck along side of her. 150 men have been landed but it will require great exertion to save the remainder, still there were 350 men on board.

I am afraid that you will think this letter full of nothing but a recital of misfortunes. On the 10th of this month we lost Mr. Sutherland, the Resident at Baroda, by a fit of apoplexy. He is a serious loss, particularly at this moment when he was making progress in the negociations with the Guicawar. I

have some difficulty with His Highness, but by patience and firmness we shall bring him to reason though it requires a good deal of the former quality. I see, however, that I must go up to Baroda after the season opens and put affairs on a proper footing. I am rather at a loss to know what arrangement to make in succession to Mr. Sutherland, at present Mr. Malet has taken charge of the Residency.

I have read Mr. Edmonstone's explanation of his vote on the Sattarah question with great satisfaction ; he has put the case in its proper light and I hope that it may be published. I hear that Sir Charles Forbes is going or has convened another court of proprietors to pass a censure on the Court of Directors!! Surely the court of proprietors ought to have nothing to say to political questions.

Believe me,
Yours very truly,
(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

20th June.

We know nothing more of the China expedition beyond its having sailed for the rendezvous at Singapore. They experienced very bad weather in the Bay of Bengal, and there were numerous accidents to some of the transports which happily have not been confirmed to the present time. Admiral Elliott had left the Cape with several ships of his squadron. These accounts have reached us by the *Sesostris* which arrived a few days ago. By our last intelligence from China, it does not appear that Commissioner Liu had made any extraordinary preparations for defence, and this encourages a hope that he will come into terms on the appearance of our armament.

You seem to think that the Russian expedition to Khiva has totally failed, and that we may be relieved from all apprehensions on that score. Our accounts however from Affganistan continue to tell a different story, and I would infer from them, not only that the Russians are now at Khiva in good force, but that they are on the best terms with Bokhara. The only cure which I can see for this evil is some demonstration in Europe. You can hardly expect in India that we have the means, though we do not want the will, of meeting Russia

with our arms. Her policy, however, is to advance gradually on some plausible pretext until she gains a position dangerous to our Indian Empire. I shall continue this letter tomorrow, the last day for despatch in the event of anything occurring of interest in the meantime.

In the present uncertain state of the weather I think it best to close and send this off immediately.

78.—W. B. BAYLEY, ESQ.,
etc., etc., etc.

DAPOOREE NEAR POONA, 20th June 1840.

MY DEAR BAYLEY,—I thank you for your kind letter of the 4th of last month. To avoid repetition I think my best plan is to send you copy of my letter to Sir John Hobhouse who will most likely be in the country when this reaches England. It contains a list of calamities of one kind or another and not among the least of them is the death of our young friend Clarke, who gallantly fell at the head of his gallant band in a desperate fight with an overwhelming force of Beloochees, with the whole of his infantry force of 70 men of the 5th Bombay N. Infantry. He did not however surrender his gallant spirit before he had killed three of his dastardly opponents with his own sword. The proceedings of detaching a force at this season of the year to Kathim, 8 marches from Sakhur, comes of the authorities in Upper Scind being subject to the control of so distant an authority as Bengal and the Political Agent's absence (Mr. Ross Bell) at the Hills for his health. I sincerely sympathise with you and Mrs. Bayley on the loss of poor young Clarke; he died it is true a soldier's death, but had he been spared, he had given such indications of high professional qualities, that he would have been among our most distinguished officers. It may be some consolation to his family and friends to know that I have never known a young man more universally esteemed and respected or whose early fate is more regretted. I intended to have given his place to his brother, but found him senior to the Officer Commanding the Corps, but I will take care, please God, to serve him in some way.

I hope that Lord Auckland will comply with your request to prolong his stay in India. A change in these times ought if possible to be avoided, and he has proved himself an able Governor-General. For my own part, I shall be truly happy that he resolves on staying, as I am very much honored with his confidence in matters not always connected with the concerns of this Presidency.

I have seen the requisition of Sir Charles Forbes for another Court on the Sattarah business, and from its terms it is but a beginning of a series of assaults. I have never known the Proprietors take to themselves such powers of revision, but I cannot believe he will have many supporters. What an admirable paper is that of Mr. Edmonstone's ; the luminous and statesmanlike view of the question taken in that valuable paper should be made public. How perfectly true is his delineation of the Rajah's character and relative position. It will carry conviction to the mind of any man open to reason. Pray thank Mr. Edmonstone in my name, as bearing rather a prominent place in the transaction, his approbation and able exposition of the grounds upon which it is founded, I consider a highly honorable testimony to my public character, and my feelings of obligations are enhanced by the high respect I have always borne to his judgement and estimable character.

I am glad to hear that you are going to send me *something* about the Guicawar. I quite concur in the justice and soundness of Mr. Edmonstone's views with reference to such allies as the Guicawar. We have no right to depose such Princes except under circumstances which call for open war, *nor was it ever in my contemplation*. I understand the Guicawar is urgent to see me, and it is my present intention to go to Baroda towards the close of the year. The sudden death of Mr. Sutherland is to be regretted, though I was not quite pleased with the dictatorial style of some of his communications to Syvagee. He was however very zealous, and the defect I allude to has probably risen from his never having been in the diplomatic line ; but always acted as a Judicial Officer before he went to Baroda. I have no fear that with a little patience and firmness the Guicawar will be brought to do all that we can

want from him ; indeed he has nearly done so already. I have not had time yet to determine who shall be Mr. Sutherland's successor ; the sort of man who I would wish to see there is one of plain good sense and *good temper*. My field of selection is limited by your orders to the civil service, among whom such a man may be found.

Our kindest regards to Mrs. Bayley and with best wishes to yourself.

Believe me,
Ever sincerely yours,
(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

79.—THE RIGHT HON'BLE SIR JOHN HOBHOUSE, BART.

etc., etc., etc.

DAPOOREE, 21st June 1840.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—The weather looked so threatening yesterday that I closed my letter abruptly in order that it might be sure of reaching Bombay in time for the packet. You will see, by our despatch to the Secret Committee, that we have much more favorable accounts from Banian, and that Dost Mahomed's family have sought our protection which I consider an event of considerable importance. I have also received a letter from Lord Auckland, which I have sent to the Chairman with a request that he will forward it on to you. He states that by his last accounts from Macao in April all was quiet there, and that several English ships had loaded with cargoes of tea and were then taking their departure. From this I infer that no preparations for defence were going forward by the Chinese, and that possibly they will yield on the appearance of our Squadron. The accounts we have of the wrecks at Bombay are truly distressing—many lives have been lost, but I am yet without particulars. Out of the *Castlereagh* 37 Sepoys are lost, besides Captain Earle of the 24th Regiment, Dr. Davis and Lieutenant Walker of the Engineers, all of whom are great losses to the service in their respective lines. Out of *Lord William Bentinck* from London, 81 Recruits are saved, 9 of which are in hospital and 3 others died shortly after landing. Three ladies, *viz.*, Mrs. Eckford, Mrs. Fraser, wife of an

Assistant Surgeon, and a Miss Robertson, 11 European women and some children are lost, and 3 unhappy Cadets. Captains Benbow and Coombe, and a Cadet of the name of Manson, and, Dr. Fraser, who lost his wife, are safe. There may be further calamities still unknown to me, but the newspapers at Bombay will give the correct account.

Believe me,

Yours very truly,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

80.—SIR WILLIAM MACNAGHTEN, BART.

etc., etc., etc.

DAPOOREE, NEAR POONA, 22nd June 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,—My last letter was dated the 13th instant. We received the May Packet on the 18th, but it does not bring any interesting news. They still rely upon the accuracy of their previous accounts of the discomfiture of the Russian Expedition to Khiva, though Mr. Bayley writes me that it is said it will be renewed this year, which he hardly believes. I wish that I could agree with him in this opinion. By a communication I have had from Lord Auckland of the 7th instant, his Lordship states that he believes the European account to be the true one. He speaks also of Mr. Clerk having been well received at Lahore and that the Seik Durbar has spoken and done well. Nevertheless, I trust that the reinforcement you have asked for will be furnished at the earliest practicable time. Affairs with Egypt are in *statu quo*, and apparently the Pasha is determined not to surrender the Turkish Fleet. The Ministers hold their places, having got a small majority on the China question, and I do not think they can be disturbed this Session. My chief object in writing at present is to tell you that one of my correspondents at the India House states that they are about to nominate a provisional member for the Supreme Council and that he conceived you will be named. This piece of information has given me great pleasure and I trust the next Mail will confirm it.

We have had two dreadful wrecks at Bombay. The

accounts you will see in the newspapers. Pray offer my kind regards to Sir Alexander Burnes and believe me.

Yours most sincerely,
(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

81.—W. S. BOYD, ESQ.

DAPOOREE, 27th June 1840.

• MY DEAR BOYD,—It always affords me sincere pleasure when I have it in my power to promote your wishes, and I have now the pleasure to inform you that I have this day nominated you to succeed our poor friend Sutherland at Baroda. You have my best wishes that you may enjoy this important office so long as it suits you to hold it, being confident that you will give every satisfaction to the Government and do credit to yourself.

I have nominated Forbes to your present office and Simson to succeed him at Surat.

Believe me,
Most sincerely yours,
(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

82.—ALEXR. BELL, ESQ.
etc., etc.

DAPOOREE, 27th June 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,—With every desire to promote your wishes, I feel it to be out of my power to do so with reference to your application of the 14th instant to succeed the late Mr. Sutherland at Baroda.

The value of your services and long experience in the Judicial line has satisfied me that I shall best consult the public interests by retaining you in that Department in which it will always give me sincere pleasure to contribute to your promotion.

Believe me,
Yours very truly,
(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

83.—S. MARRIOTT, ESQ.
etc., etc.

DAPOOREE, 27th June 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have had the honour to receive your letter of the 16th instant offering yourself as a candidate to

succeed the late Mr. Sutherland at Baroda. With a high sense of your services and respect for your character, I have considered that your continued employment in the Judicial line of the service would be more promotive of the public interests than in any other department. I regret that I cannot dispense with you in the eminent station which you occupy so much to the satisfaction of Government.

Believe me,

Yours faithfully,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

84.—THE RIGHT HON'BLE SIR JOHN HOBHOUSE, BART.

DAPOOREE, 29th June 1840.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—This goes by a sailing vessel to Aden, whence the Packet will be conveyed to Suez by a steamer. Nevertheless, I do not expect it can reach England before two months.

I send you copy of a letter just received from Sir Alexander Burnes with its enclosure containing news of the Russian Expedition to Khiva. Your accounts and ours are so contradictory that I know not what to think, but incline to the belief that we on this side of the world are correct. I am delighted to observe that Sir A. Burnes writes as if all was quiet in Affganistan.

I enclose also a note from Captain Carless to Captain Oliver giving some account of the Indus steamers. The *Comet* is on its way to Loodiana!! and it is intended that she should prosecute her voyage to Biluaspore situated at the foot of the Himalaya mountains. The moral effect produced by the appearance of the steam vessels along the Indus and Satlej has been very considerable. I wish that I could see one make its way to Attock or near it, for it would shew the Seiks what sort of a power they may have to deal with and cool their propensity to thwart us.

By a letter from Lord Auckland, dated the 14th of this month, he writes me "I am glad you are seriously thinking of strengthening the force at Sukhur after the rains, for the last accounts both from Upper Sinde and Kabool have not been such

as I could wish them. The melancholy affair in which Lieutenant Clarke lost his life may have a bad effect upon the general peace of the Country, and though Captain Anderson seems to have handsomely dispersed the Ghilzai insurgents yet the insurrection of itself proves that some further exertion on our part may be necessary. I should like Brigadier Stevenson, unless there should be a very favourable turn in affairs, to have five or even six regiments at his Command and to be prepared to send three of them or at least two on to Quetta and even if necessary to Candahar. Whether Cavalry should form part of this force we may presently consider and whether more Artillery is required. I have often thought that some of the Madras Cavalry might be moved into your Presidency, if any of your cavalry should be required for the northward." Again his Lordship writes: "Our expedition seems to be collecting well at Singapore, notwithstanding the rough weather in May, but I am impatient to have accounts of the Admiral and of the English ships."

We are quite prepared to send the re-inforcement to Sukhur, and it will now be matter of less difficulty and expense from our having recently ascertained *by survey* that Troops can easily march from Guzerat into Sinde, an important discovery.

Soon after Lord Auckland wrote me, he will have heard of Admiral Elliott and his ships being in full sail for Singapore, which he would reach by the 10th of this month or sooner. This is all the news I have for the present opportunity.

Believe me,
Yours very truly,
(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

85.—LIEUTENANT-COLONEL SIR ALEX. BURNES.

DAPOOREE, *2nd July* 1840.

MY DEAR SIR ALEXANDER,—I thank you for your kind letter of the 3rd of last month, sending me your intelligence of the advance of the Russians to Khiva. Contradictory as the accounts are from England I give credence to the information you have received. I think that you were quite right in not

leaving even for a time your present important position to have an interview with the Russian General. It is not likely, that unaccredited, your remonstrance would have arrested his measures. It is a question which must be decided in Europe and I expect nothing from the Mission of Captain Abbott to the Russian Capital.

I was relieved a good deal by the conclusion of your letter. Late accounts had led us to believe that Affghanistan was in a disturbed state, and that Seik gold and intrigues had raised some of the most powerful tribes into rebellion. I have strong suspicions of the fidelity of Kamran and his minister, and would be glad to see Herat annexed to the dominions of the Shah as well as Peshawar. The Governor-General contemplates reinforcing Brigadier Stevenson after the rains and the possibility of advancing a portion of his force to Quetta and Candahar, but I think, unless circumstances call for vigorous action that his policy is essentially pacific.

The public mind here is chiefly absorbed by the Expedition to China. It must have arrived at its destination about this time, Admiral Elliott having been heard of far on his way with his squadron from the Cape to Singapore, where our transports had safely arrived.

Your brother, Dr. Burnes, as you may know, has gone to Calcutta on a visit to Lord Auckland. I have no doubt that it will turn out to his benefit, and he has my sincere best wishes for his success. There is nothing new in this quarter, and we have heard no more from Upper Sinde about the Beloochees, who attacked and destroyed poor Clarke's detachments. I am not without some fears at this season of the year for the safety of the detachments which have been sent to communicate with Captain Brown at Kahim. This Presidency, you are aware, has nothing to say to any proceedings in Sinde, except such as relate to commercial relations. I hope that you are again as strong in health as ever.

Believe me,

Ever sincerely yours,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

86.—THE RIGHT HON'BLE SIR JOHN HOBHOUSE, BART.

DAPPOOREE, 21st July 1840.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—I have had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 4th of last month. Our accounts from Afghanistan are much more satisfactory. The alarm about the Russians appears to have subsided and the Ghylgze insurrection has been effectually suppressed by the unaided means of the Shah's own troops. This gives promise of the complete settlement of the country. For the present we are quiet as to an Expedition against the Marris in Belochistan owing to the season being so unfavourable for operations. The heat is intense at Sukhur and in the countries in its neighbourhood, which is an obstacle to any active exertions, but in October we can move and punish the murderers of Lieutenant Clarke and his detachment. We shall then send up an additional battalion to Sukhur which will give four corps with suitable details of artillery to Colonel Stevenson. At the same time the reliefs of the Corps so long in Sinde will be arranged to take place, and they will add to the force there in the event of emergency at that time. The relief will consist of three battalions, one of which will march direct from Deesa in Guzerat to Hyderabad in Sinde by a route which we have ascertained lately by survey. Being professedly a relief it will give no alarm in the country.

The reinforcement to Aden of 250 rank and file of H.M.'s 6th Regiment besides 25 men from the Artillery have just sailed from Bombay. I am authorised by the Supreme Government to improve the defences of the place which has been ordered as far as the land side is concerned; but with due deference to the opinions of others, I cannot but think that these Arabs are thought too much of, their last attack was no better than an attack of Decoits, but they say that a more formidable one is projected. My anticipations of Aden are beginning to be fulfilled; it may be a useful possession, but we are paying very dearly for it. Major Todd at Herat writes that Yar Mahomed Khan is meditating an attack on Ghorian and that he has strong hopes that he will be able to capture it. In that event I hope that we shall not be so ready to

surrender Karrack an invaluable island to us in many respects. Of the news of Egypt and Arabia you will have later intelligence than I can give you. All my apprehensions of Khoorshid Pasha's designs on the Maritime States in the Gulph have vanished, but nevertheless I have ordered the *Elphinstone* sloop of war now in the Red Sea when relieved by the *Clive* of similar force to proceed to join the Squadron at Karrack. I do not think that we shall want any aid from the Royal Navy in that quarter. We hear that Admiral Elliott has passed Anjeer Point with his squadron, having been preceded by the Indian ships and troops which had its rendezvous at Singapore. Before this time operations will have commenced or the Chinese will have yielded to the demonstration. If they fight as they have apparently made no preparations, I fancy the Russians have taught them the mode put in execution at Moscow, and that they will devastate the whole Coast, Canton and all.

Our accounts of the Indus navigation are more favourable as to the upper part of the River. The *Comet* has got up to Loodiana, though she was a long while about it. By perseverance and more experience I am sanguine that we shall overcome all difficulties, but it would be very desirable if we could have boats of more power and less draught.

The Guicawar has done nothing since the sudden and lamented death of Mr. Sutherland. He has now written me a long letter full of professions of personal regard, earnestly entreating me to visit him, and I have answered by telling him to settle the question of the reform of the contingent and then I will come. This letter will be presented by Mr. Boyd, the new Resident, who travels overland to join his station; and I dare say will produce the settlement of the only important question unadjusted. Sevagee has been sadly humbled, but he is a slippery character and requires to be kept tight in hand. When I go up, if at all, will be in December, I hope to place affairs on a permanent footing.

When this is done, I care not how long I stay in India. In coming out my object was to try and settle the questions of Sattarah and the Guicawar which had kept this Government

so many years in hot water and were beginning to induce other states to hold us in contempt. The Sattarah case will be a prolific source for debate and discussion in England. I fancy we shall have a great deal of it when the papers are produced and that when defeated there, it will be carried to Parliament. One of my correspondents tells me that Lord Brougham is to be the Advocate in the Lords, and great things are expected of him—it will be a fine theme for his declamatory powers, but I can hardly believe that he would take up such a cause. The ex-Rajah has been sending home more Vakeels, and his party in Bombay, Europeans and Natives, are active and sanguine. The present Rajah is going on admirably, as you will by and bye see by a general report which I will make of his administration.

I had nearly omitted to mention a subject of considerable importance, namely, the great want European officers with our native corps. The complement was reduced a few years ago while our calls for officers to the irregular corps have been increasing. At this moment there are but 8 Subalterns and 5 Captains for regimental duty to 3 regiments at Sukhur; the consequence is that we are obliged to order officers employed on the staff to join. If it could be possible to restore the captain and the two lieutenants, which were reduced, it would be a great relief and make the army efficient for any service. The difficulty perhaps is in the expense of such an augmentation. By the next Packet I will send you an account of the six horses sent to Her Majesty. It amounts to the bills which I have drawn on the Master of the Horse. I have been much vexed to hear that one of the horses sent by sea has died. I hope Her Majesty will approve of these horses, being the best which can be had in India; but the charge may be considered large, averaging at £250 apiece, including expenses of transport, etc. We all here hear with great delight that the Queen gives such early promise of serving her loyal subjects. We permanently pray for Her Majesty's safety, and that she may many times repeat the favour.

Believe me,

Yours very faithfully,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

87.—W. B. BAILEY, ESQ.

etc., etc., etc.

DAPOOREE, 21st July 1840.

MY DEAR BAILEY,—I write a few lines in the belief that you would desire to hear from me by the monthly mail, though I may have but little to say. The accounts from Afghanistan are much more satisfactory. I look upon it that we shall have the country much more settled now that the alarms of the Russian Expedition have subsided by at least their temporary discomfiture. You will of course see at home that the Emperor does not advance too far in this direction. The Seiks have no doubt been intriguing, and situated as we and they are, I consider them as very doubtful friends. I have had some correspondence with Lord Auckland on the subject. His Lordship's policy is decidedly quite pacific and most properly so; events may drive us into a war, *nolens volens*, and then we must act with vigour. I have no idea of the military power of the Seiks, one or two pitched battles would settle it, considering their internal divided state. In the event of a war I have recommended the Governor-General to conclude it by having a subsidiary force at Lahore, the possession of Attock and Cashmere, to keep up our communication with Cabool and to complete our barrier against Toorkistan where at present we are much exposed. We shall, after the rains, re-inforce Colonel Stevenson at Sukhur permanently with one more battalion under the instructions of the Supreme Government, and, at the same time, relieve three corps in Sinde, so that if there appears a local emergency they may be detained for it. There is a sad complaint of the want of European officers, there being but 8 subalterns and 5 captains to three corps actually in the field, with most harrassing duties. It is not now, as it was in former days, so many irregular corps having been raised which must be officered, but, besides, this miscellaneous duties, revenue surveys and others. I do not see what you can do sooner or later but to restore the captain and two subalterns, which were reduced from the strength of corps some years ago. Remember too, that we have had to

provide for officering from the Line, Shah Sujah's Army and extended political duties.

The Guicawar is lying on his oars since poor Sutherland's death, but I shall soon settle the only remaining question with him of any importance, namely, the reform of the contingent. He has lately written me a letter full of professions of personal regard and earnestly entreating a visit from me. I have written to him that when all is settled, we can then meet on the most friendly terms. I hope that you will think that I have been conciliatory and patient with him, but I am told that Veneeram is furious against me for getting him publicly discarded and all his crew. As far as I am able to judge, the Sattarah ex-Rajah is sending more vakeels to England, determined if they can do nothing else to keep up the row, and they will not want abettors either here or in England. Some of them write out that Lord Brougham is to be their champion in the House of Lords, and he is expected to restore the ex-Rajah. Whatever may be his complaint about money he has plenty of it.

I return a letter which has come down from Sinde which you addressed to poor Clarke.

Believe me,
My dear Bailey,
Ever sincerely yours,
(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

I write, you see, in great haste, being my last letter for the mail and it just going off!

J. R. C.

88.—C. TREVELYAN, ESQ. *

DAPOOREE, 21st July 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have had pleasure to receive your letter of the 11th of April. I am very sorry to say that being absent from the Presidency, I had not an opportunity of seeing your young friend, whom I invited to join us here, but he passed on to Calcutta almost without stopping at Bombay. I should

* Afterward Baronet. He married a sister of Lord Macaulay, whose educational policy he supported. He was the father of Sir Geo. Otto Trevelyan.

have been most happy to have shewn him any attention on your account, and that of his relative, Sir George Grey.

I have read the pamphlet you have sent me with great interest, and cannot but compliment you on its execution. Let us hope that it will tend to open the eyes of many who have been misled and deluded by the bigotry and intolerance of our over heated ministers of religion. As intelligence advances their power will be weakened of doing mischief; we can now well account for the obstinate and virulent opposition of the wise plan of National Education and the exhibitions at Exeter Hall.

I heard with sincere satisfaction of your appointment to the Treasury. The only alloy was the loss which India sustains by your permanent withdrawal from it, where you would soon have risen to the highest distinctions. But you have a fine field in Europe for the exercise of your talents, and you are right in not risking your health in this climate.

I hear frequently from Sir William Macnaghten with whom I presume you are well acquainted. Affairs in Afghanistan are much more satisfactory, and now that the Russians have been discomfited in the Khiva expedition, I expect that the country will completely be quietly governed. I am doubtful of the Seiks continuing as they have been. There is no doubt of some of their feudatories in the west of the Indus have instigated rebellion and occasioned the recent insurrection of the Ghilzais, which has been put down by the unaided forces of Shah Sujah's *own* army. Lord Auckland is decidedly for a pacific policy, but from the divided state of parties in the Punjab, we *may* be driven to a war, in the event of which I hope the Governor-General will have a subsidiary at Lahore, the possession of Attock and Cashmere, to keep up our lines of communication with Cabool, and complete our barrier to the westward.

The China expedition by our last intelligence had passed Anjeer point, Admiral Elliot and all. I hope the Chinese have yielded to the demonstration, but if they fight it is possible that they may do so after the fashion of the Russians at Moscow, devastating and burning the whole coast.

With my sincere best wishes, believe me, my dear Sir,

Very sincerely yours,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

Pray mention any one about whom you are interested in this quarter. Your brother * is in a line in which he can but want best wishes for his success.

(Sd.) J. R. C.

89.—THE LORD ELPHINSTONE, G.C.H.,

DAPOOREE, *26th July* 1840.

MY DEAR LORD ELPHINSTONE,—I have had the pleasure to receive your kind letter of the 9th instant. I am sadly afraid that it will not be in our power to spare the company of Sappers and Miners now at Belgaum. We are now taking measures to send almost the whole of that corps belonging to this Presidency to Aden to reconstruct the defences under the orders of the supreme Government, having finished details for Karnack and Scind. If we part with your company, there will be none left to meet with any operations which may be required on the opening of the season. There is every prospect of having something to do in Upper Scind, there appearing to be an extensive insurrection throughout the Kelat Country and among several tribes as far as Kandahar and Khelat-i-Ghilzai which places our posts at Quetta and other spots in considerable danger. The force at Sukhur under Brigadier Stevenson at present is not equal to meet the exigencies, though we have strengthened the Brigadier, as far as we could from Karachee, leaving that station with insufficient means. A reinforcement of 4 or 5 Battalions will be sent up directly the season opens for Sukhur and Karachee, for it is difficult to say how far we may be compelled to put forth our strength in that quarter. Under such circumstances, I hope you will not think me unreasonable in wishing to detain as much force as I can. If I could assist your undertakings, you may be assured that no one would more cheerfully do so.

Although our late accounts from Afghanistan have been more satisfactory than those which preceded them, those

* Henry William Trevelyan, Major General 1867. C. B. 1858. Died 31st August 1876.

which have reached us within these three days make me apprehend that we shall have some work to do before we can hope for its permanent tranquillity. You are perhaps aware that political affairs in Scind are not subject to this Government which all along I have thought a pity though the *detail* of Military forces are subject to it.

We know nothing of the causes of insurrections and have but to provide the means of putting them down when they take place. Arrangements are making to supply the place of your staff at Belgaum. I am unable at present to say to what Commander-in-Chief they are to be subordinate, but I rather apprehend to the Commander-in-Chief here, but this can be arranged hereafter. The change of the staff has been by orders from the Court of Directors.

You will have later intelligence of the Chinese Expedition than ourselves. There is a report flying about the bazaar that Canton has been taken, but it must be premature.

I have now to ask a favor of your Lordship if you can without inconvenience confer it on me. I have a cousin in the 2nd Regiment of Madras Cavalry, a Lieutenant Robert Taylor; can you do anything for him in a small way? He is a very correct young man and is married. Permit me also to mention Mr. Lugard an assistant chaplain of my nomination in England. He will not press upon your patronage, but his object is to get if possible to a healthy station on account of the state of his wife's health, a very interesting young woman and a very old acquaintance of mine. Let me know any of your wishes for individuals under this Government and they shall have my best attention.

Believe me, my dear Lord Elphinstone,

Ever sincerely yours,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

90.—ROSS BELL, ESQ.

etc., etc.

DAPOOREE NEAR POONA, 27th July 1840.

DEAR SIR,—I have had the honour to receive your letter of the 13th of this month with its enclosure. The intelligence

which you have had the goodness to send me I had previously received through Captain Outram and no doubt you are already aware that he has sent up from Karachee the 2nd Grenadier Regiment, excepting three companies, and that he has called upon Colonel Farquharson for a wing of H.M. 40th Regiment to reinforce Brigadier Stevenson with the least possible delay.

Directly that the season opens which will be by the end of August, we shall send the 21st and 25th Regiments of Native Infantry by sea to Karachee to proceed on to Sukkur. The 6th Regiment Native Infantry will also move from Deesa in Guzerat overland to Hyderabad for the same destination. The 8th Regiment Native Infantry is to supply the place of the 2nd Grenadiers at Karachee.

These Corps are professedly sent as a relief of the Native Corps which have been so long in Sind and all officers on the Staff belonging to them are ordered to join. It will be at your discretion to allow the relief or to postpone it as the state of affairs may appear to you to demand. In the event of its being your opinion that more troops either of cavalry or any other arm are necessary, I shall be very happy to use my best exertions to meet your wishes.

It will afford me great pleasure occasionally to hear of the proceedings in Upper Sind, and heartily to co-operate for the public service in that quarter.

I hope that our re-inforcement will reach Sukkur towards the end of September to enable the Brigadier to commence operations before the very cold weather sets in.

Believe me, dear Sir,

Your faithful servant,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

WALTER K. FIRMINGER, B. D.

(To be continued.)

Art. V.—HISTORY OF THE PRESS IN INDIA.—VIII.

II.—BOMBAY.

(Continued from page 509.)

FAILING to obtain the sanction of the Supreme Court, Mountstuart Elphinstone passed the Regulation for restricting the establishment of printing presses and the circulation of printed books and papers in the Bombay Council on the 1st January 1827. This was Regulation XXIV of 1827.

About this time the Parsees of Bombay quarrelled among themselves upon the subject of their calendar *Kabiseh*. The controversy was originated by Dastur Aspandiarji Kamdinji, then the high priest of Broach and champion of the Shahanshahi Parsees, by publishing a book on the subject at Surat about July 1826. The *Bombay Samachar* opened its columns to receive arguments on both sides of the question and allowed the Dastur, Mulla Firoz,* to publish on behalf of *Kadmis*

* Mulla Peshotan Firoz bin Kawoos was a native of Broach, born 1758, son of Mulla Jalal Kawoos, a priest of the Parsis of Bombay: when 10 years old, accompanied his father in 1768 on a journey to Persia: they were sent by Dhunjishaw Manjishah, the leader of a small band of Indian Zoroastrians who had seceded from their Indian coreligionists' mode of reckoning the Parsi new year's day and who were thereafter called *Kadmis*, for solving the *Kabiseh* questions: on the 21st April 1782 on their return to India, they were shipwrecked near Broach and lost several rare valuable books brought from Persia. On their return they settled at Bombay.

Firoz Mulla became a Parsi priest (*dastur*) of the Kadmi sect from 1794: was induced by Jonathan Duncan, then Governor of Bombay, to write an epic poem in Persian, *George Nama*, called after George III, being a history of India from its discovery by the Portuguese and of the English in India; he was a great collector of Persian and Arabic MSS., published in 1818 the *Desatir*, a very ancient Persian religious work: assisted the foundation of the *Bombay Samachar* in 1822 and wrote largely in it: led a retired and ascetic life, devoted to his studies: much sought by scholars, English and Asiatic, and held in the highest respect; wrote also on the advantages of vaccination: on his death on October 8, 1830 his collection was left as a gift in the charge of the Elders of the Kadmi Zoroastrians: it now forms the Mulla Firoz Library in Bombay: the Madrassah bearing his name was founded in 1854, for the instructions of Zoroastrians in their sacred lore. The title *Mulla* was conferred upon Firoz by the Khalif of Bagdad for his great learning in Arabic and Persian.

his counter-arguments against Aspandiarji Kamdin. In opposition to Mulla Firoz, Dastur F. D. Jamas Asana, a follower of Aspandiarji, began to publish in Bombay a periodical paper called the *Akhbar-e-Kabiseh* (autographical), while the *Kadmis* launched an opposition journal called *Ebtal-e-Kabiseh*. The dispute ended in 1827 when both journals ceased to exist.

In the height of this controversy, Joakim Hayward Stocqueler launched his paper *Iris* in 1827 and received much pecuniary support from his Parsee readers. "Accidentally," he writes in his *Memoirs of a Journalist*, "a moonshie or teacher from whom I had received lessons in Hindoostani asked me to publish his views on the quarrel in my paper. I did it. The moonshie's party began to buy the paper by hundreds and made the editor a rich man."

In the beginning of 1828, Mr. Henry Roper (afterwards knighted and Chief Justice of the Bombay Supreme Court) came out as a barrister to practise in the Bombay Supreme Court. Stocqueler made his acquaintance soon after his arrival, and Henry Roper began to contribute to his *Iris*. This made the paper flourish. Roper's conduct sent dismay to the proprietors of the other journals who resolved to buy Stocqueler over. The proprietors of the *Bombay Courier* offered him Rs. 1,000 per mensem to win him over to their side and succeeded. He gave up his own paper and joined the *Bombay Courier*. Among his colleagues on the staff were Colonel Vans Kennedy, Alexander Burnes, Henry Rawlinson and Henry Roper.

When Stocqueler assumed charge of the *Bombay Courier* Lord William Bentinck curtailed the *bhatta* or the extra allowance of the troops one half. The Indian Press at once became the vehicle of army

grievances, and in the Bombay Presidency, the *Bombay Courier* under Stocqueler led the van. An opportunity soon offered which made Stocqueler one of the proprietors of the paper of which he was then the editor. In March 1829 the peremptory orders of the East India Directors repeating that no public servants of the East India Company should have any connection with the Indian public press was received in India. One of the proprietors of the *Bombay Courier* was Mr. Francis Warden of the Bombay Council, and he was obliged to dispose of his interest in the paper. Aided by the purse of a lady friend, Stocqueler purchased Warden's interest in the paper for Rs. 26,000

The *Kabiseh* controversy also created a taste for reading among the Parsees. On the 1st September 1830, a Gujarati weekly newspaper called the *Mumbai Vartman* (the Bombay News) was begun to be published by Mobed Naorozji Dorabji Chandaru, a disciple of Mobed Fardoonji Murzban. After 13 months he changed the name of his paper into the *Mumbaina Halkaru and Vartman* and made it bi-weekly in 1831. From the 6th August of this year, the Government of Bombay began to publish the *Bombay Government Gazette* according to the suggestion of Sir John Malcolm, then Governor of Bombay. This action deprived the *Bombay Courier* of its principal source of income, for hitherto it used to receive from the Bombay Government Rs. 20,000 annually for publishing their advertisements. At this crisis an opportune offer came to Stocqueler from Calcutta to edit the *Bengal Hurkaru* and he severed his connection with the *Bombay Courier*. He was succeeded in the editorship of the paper by Colonel Vans Kennedy.

On the 2nd January 1832 the *Bombay Samachar*

began to appear daily in one broad sheet. On the 12th March 1832* the present *Jam-e-Jamshed* was founded by Pestonji Maneckji Motivala, then Secretary to the Parsee Panchayet, as the organ of the orthodox Parsees and published from his lithographic press as a weekly. In May of this year there appeared a letter signed by JUSTINIAN in the *Bombay Gazette* on the subject of the injustice that was being done to the English soldiers by sending their pay to England and thereby putting them to loss on account of the fluctuations in rates of exchange. The Military authorities called upon the editor to divulge the name of the writer which was given as Private Hugh Joseph O'Donnell. He was tried before a Court-martial and sentenced to six months' imprisonment.

In this year a Calcutta paper severely criticised some distribution of patronage by Lord Clare, then Governor of Bombay, who, thereupon, wrote a pressing letter to Sir Charles Metcalfe, then Deputy Governor of Bengal 'to force the Editor to make a public and ample apology, retracting every word he had stated to the prejudice of Lord Clare, or to withdraw the Editor's license.' Sir Charles Metcalfe wrote in reply that since the local administration had come in his hands the Press had not been once interfered with in the slightest degree and 'so satisfied am I that this is now the most unobjectionable course, that I shall continue to follow it as long as I have any discretionary power on the subject.'

In the beginning of 1833, the *Bombay Samachar* ceased to be a daily, and began to appear twice a

* Mr. Jehangir Byramji Murzban, the present editor of the *Jam-e-Jamshed*, writes that the paper was first started on the 1st January 1831. I have not been able to ascertain which is the correct date; the date of the text is given on the authority of the late Khan Bahadur Bomanjee Byramji Patel, author of the well-known *Parsee Prakash*.

week. In November of this year the name of the *Mumbaina Halkaru ane Vartman* was changed to the *Mumbaina Chabook*,* and the paper was continued as a bi-weekly.

Occasionally about this time there were trials for libel. In June 1833 Mr. R. X. Murphy,¹ Editor of the *Bombay Gazette*, challenged Colonel Vans Kennedy.² The Colonel refused to accept the gage of battle, whereupon the editor in his paper denounced him to the public and the army as a slanderer and a coward. The Colonel thereupon sued the editor for defamation, and Murphy was sentenced to pay Rs. 500. The same year Captain Morley sued R. C. Money³ and Dr. Wilson⁴ for some printed matter in the *Oriental Christian Spectator*⁵ anent a tomb at Ahmednagar which

* Mr Navrejji Dorabji Chandaru edited the *Mumbaina Chabuk* till 1859 when he died. The paper then declined, and in 1872 was incorporated with the *Akhbar-e-Soudagar*.

¹ Robert Xavier Murphy went out to Bombay as a master under the Bombay Native Education Society; edited the *Bombay Gazette* from 1832 to 1837; on the death of Dr. Daniel Brennan acted as Secretary to the Bombay Chamber of Commerce and edited the *Bombay Times*; Oriental Translator to the Bombay Government 1852; prepared a map of Bombay; wrote in the Journal of the Geographical Society, Bombay, and in the *Dublin University Magazine*; invented the expression "Towers of Silence" for *Dakmas* or places where the Parsees expose their dead; for indisposition was sent home in 1855; died at Kingstown, Dublin, 26th February 1857.

² Son of Robert Kennedy; born 1784: educated at Edinburgh, Berkhamsted, Monmouth: went to Bombay in the E. I. Co's military service in 1800; became Persian Interpreter to the Peshwa's subsidiary force at Sirur 1807: Judge Advocate-General to the Bombay Army 1817-35; Oriental Translator to Bombay Government 1846; became a Major General: died at Bombay 29th December 1846. Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, p. 233.

³ Robert Cotton Money of the Honourable East India Company's Civil Service, second son of William Taylor Money, Consul-General at Venice, died at Sholapur 21st January 1835, aged 52 years. There is a mural monument to his memory in St. Thomas' Cathedral, Fort Bombay. He was for several years Secretary to the Bombay Native Education Society. In 1832 he drew up a Memoir on the Education of the Natives of India for the Earl of Clare, then Governor of Bombay. He also was a great friend of Dr. John Wilson and helped him much in conducting the *Oriental Christian Spectator*.

⁴ Dr. John Wilson, D.D. See Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, p. 456 for an account of his career.

⁵ The *Oriental Christian Spectator* was started as a weekly by Dr. John Wilson in 1830, and lasted till 1856. In 1847 it was edited by Mr. T. J. A. Scott.

had been raised to a native mistress and converted into a Hindu temple, and obtained damages, Rs. 350.

It is well-known that during the administration of Lord William Bentinck the Indian Press was supplied with information on various points relating to the administration of the country and was freely allowed to comment on them. Even Government servants were allowed to criticise the measures of their superiors in the columns of the public Press. What was the state of the Indian Press in his time is thus graphically described by Sir Charles Trevelyan :—

“ When I first went to India, the country was suffering under a Reign of Terror on a small scale. There had been deportations of editors, and penalties imposed on those who wrote in the obnoxious newspapers, the consequence of which was that there was a state of general mental restraint and stagnation ; and any person who advocated any reform, however desirable, was regarded more or less as a dangerous innovator. The first inroad that was made upon that system was by an announcement which appeared in the public papers, signed by Lord William Bentinck's Private Secretary, stating that his Lordship was ready to receive suggestions for the improvement of the condition of the natives and the development of the resources of the country, from whatever quarter they came. This announcement was so inconsistent with the prevailing state of feeling such as I have described, that at first the authenticity of it was not believed ; and it was a long time before the Anglo-Indian community availed themselves of Lord William Bentinck's liberal intentions. The first practical exemplification of a free Press was that remarkable series of letters published by the Honourable Frederick Shore, under the signature of

‘A Friend to India,’ in which the detailed administration of the Government of India was criticised with great severity. I remember that, as each letter came out, we used to expect that some severe measure would be taken against Mr. Shore ; but probably the circumstance which established the complete mental emancipation of the community was the general blaze of newspaper-writing called out by the letters signed ‘Indophilus’ which letters had the merit of inducing all kinds of people who had never before written in the newspapers, to enter into a discussion of the public interests of the country in the newspapers. I can mention another remarkable case in which the public interests were subserved by freedom of discussion. I had been employed by Lord William Bentinck to prepare a scheme of detailed arrangements for opening the navigation of the Indus, the first foundation of which was laid by Lord Ellenborough. A copy of this paper was sent by the Governor-General to Lord Clare, who was then Governor of Bombay, and he sent it to the Bombay newspapers ; and as comments of various kinds appeared upon it, explanations were required for the successful understanding of the measures. Upon this I commenced a series of letters, signed ‘Indophilus,’ directed to that particular object ; but I found, before I had gone far, that I had got possession of the public ear and mind, and that I might turn this to very valuable account. I had recently returned to Calcutta from the Upper Provinces, with a strong impression of the great evils of the then existing land revenue system and of the uncertainty and absence of all security of property consequent upon the temporary settlements then made from year to year ; and it occurred to me that I might, with great advantage, make such an *exposé* of the subject as would enlighten

public opinion and create a general tendency on the part of the Commissioners, Collectors and other persons engaged in those settlements, towards making moderate settlements and long settlements so as to establish in that part of India the great principle of the security of property. I accordingly directed the series of 'Indophilus' letters to that object; and I think I do not say too much in asserting that the effect which was produced on public opinion by those letters had a manifest tendency to bring about a moderate and satisfactory settlement."

In the early days of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, the Indians were not eligible for its membership. However, in 1834, Seth Manekji Khershedji Shroff was elected a member of the Society for the first time. This election was severely criticised by the *Bombay Gazette*, and a suit for defamation was instituted against the paper by the new member.

In 1835 Sir Charles Metcalfe freed the Indian Press and repealed the Regulations¹ then in force in Bombay. Partly on account of this and partly on account of the establishment of regular monthly communications between Bombay and Europe by steam ships,² the members of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce started a joint-stock company³ with a capital of Rs. 36,000 to set up a newspaper with the view of devoting it to trade interests. Accordingly the *Bombay Times and Journal of Commerce* was first published as a bi-weekly⁴ on the 3rd November 1838

¹ Regulations passed on the 11th May 1825 and 1st January 1827.

² This was mainly due to the efforts of Thomas Waghorn. For an account of his career, see Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, p. 438.

³ Among the original shareholders there were eleven of the principal European houses of Bombay, Mr. Framji Cowasji Banaji, the oldest and most respectable of the Indian merchants, two of the leading barristers of the Supreme Court and the most distinguished private medical practitioner of Bombay.

⁴ Used to appear on Saturdays and Wednesdays.

under the editorial management of the then Secretary to the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, Dr. Daniel Brenan.¹ Sir Robert Grant, then Governor of Bombay, warmly supported the project.

In this year a weekly paper in Gujarati called the *Mumbai Doorbin** owned by Nasarwanji Temuljee first appeared from the *Jam-e-Jamshed* press. On the 18th December of this year, Sir John Wither Awdry, Kt., Puisne Judge, Supreme Court, Bombay, sentenced Mr. McCallum, Editor of the *Bombay Gazette* for having defamed John Malcolm, late Superintendent of the Indian Navy, to three months imprisonment, to pay a fine of Rs. 1,000, to enter into recognizances himself for Rs. 2,000, and to find two sureties each for Rs. 10,000 to keep the peace towards the Queen and all her subjects for two years. In this year, the *Jam-e-Jamshed* was made biweekly.

In May 1839, on the occasion of the conversion to Christianity of two Parsee lads,† the *Bombay Gazette* having strongly advocated the cause of the missionaries and passed strictures on the Parsee community, the Parsee subscribers entirely withdrew their support.

In 1839 Dr. Daniel Brenan, Editor of the *Bombay Times*, died and was temporarily succeeded by R. X. Murphy. Professor William Henderson of Elphinstone College, and Dr. Richard Knight, then an officer of the Bombay Medical Service. The latter was relieved in May 1840 by Dr. George Buist as Editor of the *Bombay Times*.

¹ In the *List of Tombs and Monuments of historical and Archeological importance* in Bombay and other parts of the Presidency published in 1902 by the Bombay Government, there is a copy of the inscription on his grave.

* About 1844 this paper ceased to circulate.

† One of them is the Rev. Dhanjibhai Naoroji who is still living.

In 1840, Mr. Rousseau, sub-editor of the *Bombay Courier*, died of cholera, and Mr. McCallum, Editor and Proprietor of the *Bombay Gazette*, also died of cholera, aged 36. The *Bombay Gazette* was, therefore, sold to a new proprietor for Rs. 15,500, in May 1840, who, on assuming charge, was obliged to give the following explanation regarding the policy of the paper in its issue of 12th June 1840, as under Mr. McCallum the paper had become very unpopular:— ‘We have learned with great regret that many of our Parsee friends, judging from the tone of previous remarks, have imbibed an opinion that our journal was to be exclusively conducted upon the principles which guided it formerly. We beg to assure the Parsee community, among whom we have many highly estimable friends, that our journal now is perfectly free and unbiassed.’

In the beginning of 1841, Sir Henry Roper, then Chief Justice of the Bombay Supreme Court, issued a rule calling upon the editors and the proprietors of the *Bombay Times* and the *Bombay Courier* to show cause why they should not be charged with contempt of court for having allowed the editors to ventilate the grievances of the Bombay merchants, which arose in the following way: Formerly when a British subject died in the Bombay Presidency, leaving property within its Supreme Court's jurisdiction, but having no executor or next of kin within that jurisdiction, the Law directed that the Ecclesiastical Registrar should administer. The Law gave it to him as his right, and to deprive him of it was to illegally withhold from him his due. Yet, despite this clear direction, the merchants of Bombay had been in the habit of evading it, and in an instance in 1840, an agency house, Messrs. Forbes and Co.,

kept a gentleman's will in their desk for twelve months after his decease until probate could be taken out wrongfully in England, and they were appointed agents. On the 12th February 1840 the case came up before Sir Henry Roper, then a Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court, and in disposing of it, he not only remarked that instead of so acting Messrs. Forbes and Co. should have given up the will to the Ecclesiastical Registrar and thus avoided the wrong of keeping the testator's legatees out of their property during a year merely for the sake of obtaining 5 per cent. upon Rs. 40,000, and severely commented on the conduct of Mr. Charles Forbes, a partner of the firm. The Bombay merchants proposed, in the beginning of 1841, through the leading newspapers, the *Bombay Times* and the *Bombay Courier*, to present a petition to Parliament against the aspersions made by Sir Henry Roper on Mr. Forbes in his written judgment. The above newspapers sided with the Bombay merchants and commented on Sir Roper. He, thereupon, issued the above rule.

On the 27th March 1841 the following proprietors of the *Bombay Times* and the *Bombay Courier* attended the Court to show cause :—

Proprietors of the *Bombay Times* :—

- (1) Mr. C. B. Skinner, of Messrs. Jardine, Skinner and Co.
- (2) Harry George Gordon, Chairman of the first Oriental Bank and a partner of Messrs. Ritchie, Steuart and Co.
- (3) J. C. Steuart, a partner of Messrs. Ritchie, Steuart and Co.
- (4) Dawson.
- (5) T. Cardwell.
- (6) R. Richmond.

- (7) W. Mackie.
- (8) J. A. Russell.
- (9) E. M. Davidson.
- (10) F. Martin.
- (11) J. Wright.
- (12) Framjee Cowasjee.*

Proprietors of the *Bombay Courier* :—

- (1) Humphrey Francis Boaden.
- (2) Henry Fawcett.
- (3) Robert Wigram Crawford.
- (4) Reginald Frederick Remington, of Remington and Co., Bombay.
- (5) James Remington Hadow, of Remington and Co., Bombay.
- (6) Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy (afterwards first Parsee Baron).
- (7) W. Henderson.

Mr. Herrich, the Counsel, appeared before the Chief Justice, Sir Henry Roper, on behalf of Mr. Framjee Cowasjee and stated that he (Mr. Framjee Cowasjee) entertained the highest respect for the Chief Justice, and expressed regret for the “scandalous” paragraph in the *Bombay Times*. A similar explanation was offered on behalf of Mr. Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, and the Chief Justice was pleased to excuse them. On behalf of the European proprietors, Mr. John Cochrane, the Counsel, appeared, who expressed his unwillingness “to offer any apology on behalf of his clients.” The Chief Justice, thereupon, issued a rule against these proprietors. The case was finally heard, and Mr. Cochrane having “disavowed all feelings of hostility towards the Judge,” the rule was discharged.

* For an account of his career, see Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian Biography* p. 25.

In April 1841 the Governor-General of India received the following despatch from home containing revocation of the prohibition against the connection of the East India Company's servants with public newspapers subject to the restraints imposed upon military officers by the rules of the service :—

Despatch from the Court of Directors, No. 9 (Political), dated the 21st April 1841.

The letters noted in the margin relate to the

Political letters from Government of Bombay, dated 5th September (No. 76), 1838, whole.

Political letters from Government of Bombay, dated 31st October (No. 91), 1838, whole.

Political letters from Government of Bombay, dated 26th December (No. 109), 1838, whole.

Political letters from Government of Bombay, dated 20th February (No. 7), 1839, whole.

Political letters from Government of Bombay, dated 27th November (No. 43), 1839, paras. 47 and 48.

Political letters from Government of Bombay, dated 23rd May (No. 18), 1840, paras. 51 to 55.

Political letters from Government of Bombay, Secret, 7th October (No. 114), 1839, paras. 7 to 9.

Political letters from Government of Bombay, Secret 31st October (No. 91), 1840, paras. 21 to 23.

abuses of the Indian Press, and to the measures recommended by the Government of Bombay for counteracting the evil effects arising therefrom.

2. We have had this question under serious consideration, but have delayed replying to the letters from Bombay, in the expectation that, as the Governor-General had concurred in the opinion of the Governor of Bombay on the propriety of revoking the prohibition laid by us on our servants many years ago against being connected with the public newspapers, we should receive some communication from your Government on the subject.

3. But as the Bombay Government continues to urge the subject on our attention, and as any measure which we may sanction, in relation to it, must necessarily be general not local, we address to you our determination to concede the point in question. We accordingly revoke the existing prohibition against the

connection of our servants with the public newspapers, subject, of course, to the restraints imposed on our Military Officers by the Rules of the Service.

We are, etc.,

GEORGE LEGATE,

LONDON, } AND 13 OTHER DIRECTORS.
The 21st April 1841.

Accordingly a Notification* No. 1608, Fort William, Political Department, dated the 28th June 1841, was issued.

In his letters noted above, Sir Robert Grant, then Governor of Bombay, also proposed to counteract the evil effects arising from the abuses of the Bombay Press by securing the *Bombay Courier* as the Government organ to advocate its interests. But Lord Auckland did not approve the Bombay Governor's proposal for the reasons fully stated elsewhere.†

In August 1842 the *Bombay Gazette* ceased to appear. On the 6th March 1843 Mr. P. J. McKenna and the Rev. John Stevenson, D.D., began to publish the first Anglo-Indian daily paper called the *British Indian Gentleman's Gazette and Bombay Daily Newspaper* at Bombay. In July 1846 Mr. Jamieson started the *Bombay Telegraph* as a bi-weekly, but finding it financially unsuccessful, disposed of it to Mr. T. J. A. Scott, ‡ Editor and Proprietor of the *Bombay Courier*, who amalgamated it with his own paper. The amalgamated papers appeared on the 1st January 1847 as a daily paper called the *Telegraph and Courier*—the second Anglo-Indian daily of Bombay.

* *Vide the Calcutta Review*, April 1908.

† *Vide the Calcutta Review*, April 1908.

‡ Mr. T. J. A. Scott was made the first Secretary of the Great Indian Peninsular Railway of Bombay in acknowledgment of the services he had rendered to the Company in promoting the introduction of the railway. He was also Secretary to the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.

In 1845 Mr. John Connon came out from England to relieve Messrs. P. J. McKenna* and Stevenson from the editorship of the *British Indian Gentleman's Gazette and Bombay Daily Newspaper*. In 1849 Mr. Connon became the proprietor of this paper, besides editor and changed its name to the *Bombay Gazette* from the 12th November 1849.

From the 1st August 1849, Mr. Navrojji Dorabji Gai, and Dasturs Kekobad Minocheher, Mulla Firoz and Aspandiarji Framji Rabadi with the pecuniary aid of Kharshedji Nasarwanji Cama began to publish a daily paper called the *Samachar Darpan*† in Gujarati.

On the 2nd September 1850, the *Bombay Times* began to appear as a daily, the third Anglo-Indian daily of Bombay, under the management of Dr. George Buist. In October of this year an illustrated Gujarati weekly called the *Chitra Gnyan Darpan* (Mirror of Pictorial Knowledge) began to be published, edited by Jehangir H. Punthaki and Behramji Gandhi. Its illustrations were lithographed. In the beginning of 1851, this paper published a blurred picture of Mahomed which enraged his followers in Bombay to a very great extent, and led to a serious riot in the city. The Parsees being numerically weak, suffered much, and their leaders, Shettias, for days did nothing to stop the

* In April 1879 speaking at the Byculla Club in Bombay the Hon'ble Mr. Gibbs recalled his own memories of the Bombay Press at the time he came to India and referred thus to Mr. P. J. McKenna: "I only know that in those days the editor of the *Gentleman's Gazette* was a very mild, very elderly person who went about in a *palkee* dressed in white garments, including a short jacket, from office to office, to acquire any information he could in order to fill the next day's issue, and I am sorry to say that he often got such information that he not only filled the next day's issue, but he had, on the following day, generally to contradict what had appeared before."

With reference to this part of the speech the late lamented Robert Knight wrote thus: "The 'elderly person' of the *Gentleman's Gazette* to whom Mr. Gibbs refers was a Mr McKenna under whose unfortunate conduct of the paper it earned for itself the title of the *Blackguard's Gazette*. The late Mr. Connon succeeded Mr. McKenna."

† In 1868 the *Samachar Darpan* was amalgamated with the *Akhbar-e Soudagar*.

riot as they took shelter in the old Fort. The then existing newspapers did not also help the majority of the Parsees living outside the Fort in stopping the outrages of the rioters. Enraged at this apathy, the advanced section of the Parsees started the *Rast Goftar* as a fortnightly newspaper on the 15th November 1851. Its projector and first editor was Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. The capital to start the paper was supplied by Kharshedji Nasarwanji Cama.

The wise revocation made on the 28th June 1841, was effectually neutralised by Lord Ellenborough by his Notification No. 150, dated the 30th August, 1843, from Fort William, Foreign Department, in which it was ordered that official documents should not be made public or communicated to individuals without the previous consent of the Government of India and should not be used in carrying on personal controversies.* During 1846-47 a series of articles appeared in the *Delhi Gazette* and the *Calcutta Review* on Lord Hardinge's Sikh War betraying an amount of confidential information on the war. Thereupon the Governor-General published the following notification :—

General Order, Foreign Department, dated 15th March 1847.

The Governor-General deems it advisable to republish for general information the Notification No. 150 issued on the 30th August 1843, in which the principle is laid down that it is contrary to the duty of every Officer, Civil or Military, to make public or to communicate to individuals, without the previous sanction of Government, any documents, papers or information of which he may have become possessed in his official capacity.

The practice of making use of official information in carrying on personal controversies is a course highly prejudicial

* For the text of the Notification and the *reasons* of its promulgation, see the *Calcutta Review*, April 1908.

to the public interests, and is not only at variance with the rules by which due discipline and obedience to superior authority can be adequately maintained, but is a positive breach of faith inasmuch as no functionary has a right to reveal, without due authority from his official superiors, or the Home Authorities, any fact or circumstance which may come to his knowledge in the performance of his duty, or to correspond with any one upon the instructions he may have received for his special guidance.

The Governor-General is persuaded that every Officer, Civil and Military, will henceforth conform to this rule of the Service, under the conviction that, if in the transaction of his official duties his public conduct be impugned, he is at liberty to seek redress through the usual official channel by an appeal to the Government he serves, and that the Government so appealed to will afford him every opportunity of vindicating his character.

By Order of the Right Honourable the Governor-General
of India.

H. M. ELLIOT,

Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of India with the Governor-General.

From the 1st June of 1852, Mr. Dadabhai Kavasj began to publish, as a tri-weekly paper in Gujarati, the present *Akhbar-e-Soudagar*. Towards the end of this year, Dr. George Buist went home on six months' leave, and the *Bombay Times* was, during his absence, edited by the late lamented Robert Knight, then a frequent contributor to the paper. While at home, Dr. George Buist vindicated the Indian Press from the charge of being hostile to the Indian Government by presenting on the 12th August 1853, a petition to the "Select Committee of the House of Lords appointed to inquire into the operation of the Act 3 and 4, Will. 4, c. 85, for the better government of Her Majesty's Indian Territories," in order to correct the false impressions which the public might receive from the

evidence on Indian newspapers given before the Committee. The following is the full text of Dr. George Buist's petition :—

Petition complaining of the Evidence given before the Select Committee of this house on the Government of Indian Territories, on the subject of Newspapers in India, of Doctor George Buist, Editor of the "Bombay Times."

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORDS SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED.

The petition of Doctor George Buist, Editor of the "Bombay Times," Secretary to the Geographical Society, Founder and Superintendent of the School of Industry, late Sheriff of Bombay, and formerly in charge of the Astronomical, Metereological and Magnetic Observatories of the East India Company at Bombay, formerly Secretary to the Agricultural Society of Western India and in charge of their experimental Gardens,

Showeth—

That your Petitioner has been close on twenty-years connected as editor with the newspaper press, for a third of that period as editor and proprietor, having for nearly eight years conducted with credit and success newspapers in the central counties of Scotland, Forfar, Perth and Fife, and for more than twelve, been editor, and for six, editor and principal proprietor of the oldest and most extensively circulated journal in Western India, the "Bombay Times," and that for the whole of this long period he has had constant occasion to study most carefully newspapers from nearly all parts of the world, those of London in particular, to some of which he has been a large and highly paid contributor, having occupied his closest attention.

That the "Bombay Times," one of those three daily papers published at the Presidency, was brought into existence in 1838, shortly after the passing of the Charter Act (1834) and the removal of the disabilities of the Press by Lord Metcalfe

(1835), and with the express views of advocating public improvement, and devoting itself to the interests of the country, to the discussion of the views and policy of Government, and the examination and diffusion of those opinions, facts and doctrines, the circumstances of the occasion, the exigencies and prospects of the period rendered expedient, with the cordial approval of Sir Robert Grant, the Governor of the time, and countenance and support of the most distinguished servants of Government. Its projectors and proprietors comprised amongst them eleven of the principal European houses in Bombay, the oldest and most distinguished native merchant, two of the most eminent barristers before the Supreme Court, and the most distinguished private medical practitioner in Western India. That they selected as their editor, Dr. Brennan, a lecturer of eminence on anatomy in Dublin, whose health rendered a warm climate desirable and who on his arrival at Bombay was elected to the then responsible office of Secretary to the Chamber of Commerce besides being Editor of the "Times." That the proprietors of the "Courier," the principal paper in Bombay up to 1838 and long the recognised organ of Government, were equally eminent as those of the "Bombay Times," and that the paper had engaged from time to time the services as editors of many of the most talented servants of Government. That the first editor of the "Bombay Times," Dr. Brennan, having died in 1839, the paper was for a time conducted by Professor Henderson of the Elphinstone College, a servant of Government. Afterwards, by Dr. Knight, at present Residency Surgeon, Khota, and of the Bengal Medical Service, and that your petitioner, having been selected for the eminence he had attained as a provincial Journalist in Scotland, to the editorship of the "Bombay Times," entered on his duties in May 1840, and has continued to conduct the paper ever since, with the highest approbation of his employers, on the principles on which it was originally started.

From the constant fluctuations in the mercantile community in Bombay, numerous changes in the proprietary have from time to time taken place, and the "Times," having always yielded, as it continues to yield, from 30 to 40 per cent. of dividends annually on the amount originally invested, a

number of the most distinguished servants of Government became proprietors, soon after the promulgation of the permission of the Court of Directors, for its Civil and Military servants to connect themselves with the press. In 1847 its principal proprietors, after your petitioner, were the Puisne Judge of the Sudder Adawlut, the Collector of Customs, the Deputy Quatermaster-General, now Quartermaster-General of the Bombay Army, the Secretary to the Medical Board, afterwards Physician-General and the Medical Storekeeper, now Superintending Surgeon at the Presidency; and with two exceptions, one from retirement from the service and the other from promotion: these gentlemen still continue principal proprietors of the paper.

That your petitioner has not only devoted the columns of the "Bombay Times" to the advancement of good government; to the spread of education, of improvement and economy; to the denunciation of those bloody and superfluous wars, which within these twelve years have cost us thirty millions sterling; and that policy which, under the name of expediency, disregards the principles of truth and justice, and sets up a standard of morals for statesmen opposed to the principles of Christianity and the evils of which to our name and character, as Wellington has so well remarked, cannot be compensated by the most brilliant victories, but, as far as circumstances permitted, endeavoured, in his private capacity, to promote the improvements he, as an editor recommended, a circumstance to which numerous letters of acknowledgment received from Government bear ample testimony.

Under these circumstances, it is with much surprise, mortification and chagrin, that your petitioner has seen it stated in the evidence laid before the Committee of your Honourable House, that the newspapers in India, with the exception of a Bengal journal called the "Friend of India," are uniformly and universally hostile to Government, and are continually engaged in impugning and slandering its proceedings, and that though they admit of corrections when made to them, still their tendency is that of unceasing and continual hostilities to the authorities.

That, so far is this from being the fact in the case of your petitioner, that he has been frequently charged by his brethren with being the organ of the local Government; and in the majority of cases coming under discussion, his views and those of the Government have coincided with each other; that being averse to needless aggression and uncalled-for war, he was opposed to the general policy of the Government from 1840 to 1845, that since then he has been a warm supporter and ardent admirer of the proceedings of Governors-General of India almost throughout. Your petitioner was as one with the Bombay Government in the deposition of the Rajah of Sattara, in their views of the war in Affghanistan, and in the conquest of Scinde, in their views of the conduct of the Nuffoosk Commission, the Court of the Directors having in 1841 expressed themselves in nearly the same terms as were used by your petitioner on the subject in the previous year; that your petitioner highly applauded the revenue arrangements of Government, their anxiety to promote the improvements in the culture of cotton, their desire to advance the native education, by conferring Government appointments on the most distinguished of the native scholars, and the employment of natives more extensively than before in the public service, in their appointment of the Residents at Sattara and Baroda and the Commission in Scinde, and in the great majority of other arrangements, an evidence at once, it is hoped, of the merits of the Government, and the independence and soundness of the views of your petitioner.

Your petitioner, at the commencement of his editorial career, strongly condemned the existing state of the Post Office arrangements, and in recommending their improvements, collected with great labour and care, and published, a vast mass of steam and mail statistics, which he found scattered about in a hundred different quarters, and which your petitioner for the first time put into a convenient and popular form, and the desired changes were in a great measure brought about in the course of two years; that your petitioner, in 1840, condemned the arrangements then made for the reception of sick soldiers from Aden, and a general order was a few weeks afterwards issued securing the remedies suggested;

that your petitioner was opposed to the Government in the discussion on Baroda matters, but had a very large number of the Court of Directors on his side, and but for the principle of supporting the authorities, would most likely have had them all of his opinion ; that your petitioner has been all along hostile to the existence of sinecure sheriffships, and the appointment has accordingly been abolished ; that in 1849 your petitioner pointed out the enormous sums expended in the Affghan war, and the derangement of our commercial relations which the transmission of so much specie into a country from which it would not for many years return, must occasion ; and the views of your petitioner were fully borne out by the state in which the finances of India had been brought by 1841 when the Honourable Mr. Bird, then President in Council, stated to Sir Henry Willock, that the shutting of the Treasury in September had been contemplated ; by the statement made by the late Sir Robert Peel in assigning this as one of the reasons for the imposition of the Income Tax and by the accounts of the Honourable East India Company since then published, and that in like manner, in the great majority of occasions in which your petitioner has chanced to be opposed to some one division of the authorities, his views have been borne out by the others and have been afterwards shown to be in consonance with fact. He considered the annexation of the Punjaub unwise and unjustifiable in 1846, and it was left in the hands of the Seikhs, and he deemed its annexation inevitable in 1848, and in 1849 it was annexed.

That your petitioner has observed, that, in the examination of Mr. John Stuart Mill of the India House, before the Committee of the House of Lords, it is insinuated, "that the Press of India is inferior to that of England in its tone, that in England the tone of newspaper-writing is in general superior to that of ordinary conversation ; that in India it is the reverse to such an extent, that a most erroneous view of English Society would be taken were it judged of by the press ; that newspapers in India are of very little use to Government unless in promoting inquiry ; that the English Newspaper Press in India is only the organ of English Society, chiefly of the part of it

unconnected with Government and has little to do with natives, or the interest of the country."

The groundlessness of the last of these imputations will be apparent, when it is recollected that there are seven daily and 20 or 30 tri-weekly or bi-weekly newspapers in India, and that there are not as many Europeans in the country altogether, not connected with the Government, as could provide subscribers or supply intelligence for a single daily newspaper.

That, in point of fact, a large number of the newspapers are principally or wholly the property of servants of Government and are conducted by retired or invalid officers from the Queen's or Company's Army. That your petitioner is prepared to prove, what must be well known to many Members of your Honourable House, who have long been readers of the "Bombay Times" that however inferior the best of the newspapers of India may be to those at home in point of talent, that in point of propriety of expression and decorum of language, and in point of amount of space devoted by them to important subjects of discussion, or in point of the magnitude and importance of these as bearing on the interests of the country, they are second to no newspapers in existence.

Setting aside the space required for advertisting, for Military and Shipping Lists, General Orders and Prices Current, a full third part of the area of the journals of India is occupied by extracts from the very best home publications, from the *Edinburgh, Quarterly, North British and Westminster Reviews*; from *Blackwoods, Fraser's, Tait's* and other Magazines; from the *Athenæum, Literary Gazette, Chambers'* and *Hogg's* publications, together with carefully selected extracts from the very best of the London daily and weekly newspapers. The fact of papers being got up at home, affords room for selections they could not otherwise command. That so far from devoting less space to the cause of good government, the spread of education and public improvement, than is devoted to these subjects by the papers at home, they devote a vast deal more, if dealing with Statistics, Agriculture, Police, Municipal, Sanitary, Commercial, and other such like matters, bearing directly on the improvement of the country and welfare of the

people is to be considered such, where party politics are things unknown, rather than the political controversies and factions, disputes and abuse from which the columns are exempted ; that by means, such as now related, a vast quantity of valuable and interesting information, much of it gathered from printed public documents, but transmitted into a condensed, popular and readable form, is diffused amongst the members of the service, and more intelligent of the native community, the former of whom are in India very apt to lose habits of reading altogether, the latter of whom require still in a great measure to acquire them, both turning to the local newspapers as the chief sources of supply.

That it is difficult to define what the precise tone of conversation is amongst the reading classes either in England or in India, and therefore impossible to compare the one with the other, or to ascertain the precise relation the tone of newspaper speculation bears to that of conversation in the one country or in the other ; but your petitioner has already shown that the newspapers in India are in no respect, save talent and magnitude, behind their English brethren, the chief imperfections with which they are chargeable being due to the enormous postage charges imposed upon them, and the limited size to which they are restricted, these two combining to induce them to concentrate more of their attention on, and devote more of their space to, local incidents of little general importance than they otherwise would do ; that they are not even in this respect behind the spirit of the age may be judged of from the recommendation of the Report of Post Office Commissioners now under the consideration of Government, to the effect, that such an additional postage be imposed on newspapers imported from England as virtually to exclude them from all parts of India but the Presidencies. That not only is the Newspaper Press of India at least equal in its tone to that of England, but is a vast way superior to it, and, in general, to the statesmen of the day in the possession of important and accurate information, as will presently appear. On the 23rd June 1842, Sir John Hobhouse stated in the House of Commons, in opposition to the motion

of Mr. Bailey, for the production of the papers in an un mutilated form on which the Affghan War was granted, that Lord Palmerston and his colleagues considered the explanations of Count Nesselrode in reference to the proceedings of Russia in connexion of the affairs of Herat, "satisfactory, because they were carried into effect," and Count Limonich and Lieutenant Vicovich were recalled. According to the official despatches published by Parliament, the satisfaction to the Russian cabinet here referred to was intimated to Count Nesselrode, under date 1st November 1838, the recall having first been made known on the 5th March 1839—discrepancy duly exposed at the time by your petitioner. About the same time, Lord Fitzgerald and Vesey, the President of the Board of Control, affirmed that his predecessors had not unfairly garbled the "Blue Book" of 1839: the papers of Sir Alexander Burnes having been published entire by your petitioner, by desire of the relatives of that lamented officer, show, as is now universally admitted, instances of garbling such as find no parallel in history. In June 1841 Lord Palmerston, in addressing the Electors at Tiverton, described the whole of Affghanistan as in a state of such unexampled tranquillity, that an unarmed Englishman might ride as safely through the midst of its wilds as he could have ridden from Tiverton to John O'Groat's house, the name of a British officer being a passport everywhere. That, at this very time your petitioner had published an enumeration of 33 actions, in 13 of which our troops had been unsuccessful, which had taken place within the twelve months: and the Board of Control, of which the noble Lord was a member, must have had in their hands documents giving accounts of Shelton's operations in the Naziam Valley: the general discontents in Kohistan, the three separate expeditions then on foot betwixt Kandahar and Ghuznie; the actions of Farrington and Woodburn, on the Helmund; the preparations for Griffin's expedition; the Nooskey expedition; the unhappy affair of Kojjuck; the general movements of troops in Scinde and Shawl, with the universal marching and counter-marching of detachments throughout the country occupied, as we then were in five simultaneous or

immediately consecutive campaigns around Jellalabad, Khelat-i-Ghilzie, Ghirisk, Moosting and the Sebee country. In the "Overland Times" for July 1841 estimates of the expenses of the Afghan War up to that date was published by your petitioner, so closely approaching the statements afterwards given from official authority by Sir Henry Willock and Sir Robert Peel as to show the close approaches that could be made to truth by those who earnestly sought after it, and from these and other inquiries your petitioner came to the conclusion which he published about the period referred to, that to maintain the Dooranee Alliance was next to impossible; the attempt to maintain ourselves in Affghanistan, a folly which could not but issue in the most fightful disasters. Had the warnings he then gave been attended to in time, the events of Cabool, which six months afterwards justified the soundness of his views, might have been avoided, and the darkest chapter in our history left unwritten. In 1842 Lord Palmerston taunted Sir Robert Peel with the supposed intentions of the Ministry to abandon the Dooranee Alliance and retire from Affghanistan, in obvious ignorance of the resolution came to by Lord Auckland on the 3rd December 1841, and known to the Board of Control, that in the event of the loss of Cabool, no attempt should be made to renew the occupation of Affghanistan. That in 1843 your petitioner, who had been one of the most ardent admirers of Lord Ellenborough while he professed nothing but peace and improvement, and of Sir Charles Napier before he attacked the Ameers, pointing out the monstrous injustice of our invasion of Scinde, he prepared an estimate, now fully justified by fact, that it could not be maintained with less than an augmentation of 8,000 men, and accordingly betwixt 1843 and 1844 the Bombay Army was increased by 13,605 from 51,694 to 65,299, the latter number not being likely hereafterwards to be diminished, even though Aden is now garrisoned by Madras troops. At the same time he estimated the annual expense it must impose upon us at about half a million sterling, thus falling about a third or fourth short of fact. That at both these periods the journals at home and leading speakers of the time, seemed in ecstasies with

the imagined wisdom that had been displayed, and the rare good fortune that had attended it, when in reality our misconduct was drawing down upon ourselves the heaviest calamities that could have befallen us. All these things are now matter of history, as much beyond the reach of remedy as of dispute ; that had the Press or the politicians of England examined or believed the statements then set forth by your petitioner, and all since fully verified, the blot which Scinde throws upon our good name might have been obliterated, and the disgrace and mischief it has occasioned us, avoided.

That shortly after the liberation of the Press, Lord Auckland most wisely expressed his anxiety to encourage the servants of Government to connect themselves with the newspapers and the Government should afford journalists all the information that could be given then under the secret system insisted on from home, desiring thereby to increase the predisposition that he knew must exist to speak favourably of Government, when present or former Government servants were the speakers, and those still in Government employment the listeners. In March 1842 and August 1843 all this was put an end to by the order of Lord Ellenborough ; and the Court of Directors, who were understood to have disapproved of nearly every other measure under his Lordship's administration, have permitted the most objectionable of them all to pass uncensured.

That from the time the measure of Governor Metcalfe deprived Government of the power of deporting editors for reprinting the reports of parliament or articles of intelligence of the home newspapers and of indulging, as they did, most freely in persecution of the Press, scarcely surpassed by those of France of the present date, there seems to have been a constant desire to slander those who could not be reached by Lord Auckland, and those around him proving honourable. That on the 12th February 1841 Mr. Hume called the attention of the House of Commons to certain obnoxious statements made by correspondents in the *Agra Akbar* and *Bombay Times*, in reference to the death of a trooper of the 2nd Bengal Cavalry, said to have been shot in a cornfield

near Ghuznie in July 1839, while supposed marauding, in reference to which the conduct of Lord Keane was severely blamed. The Chairman of the Board of Control, then bringing forward a motion for a pension of £2,000 a year to his Lordship and his descendants, stated, that the moment he observed the reports in the newspapers on the subject, he made the most diligent inquiries as to its truth at the India House, the India Board, and of parties who had shared in the Affghan campaign, and found that the statements in the newspapers, which he termed rascally, were false ; that the trooper had been shot at night by the videttes, under the order of the provost Marshal, strict directions having been given to protect the cornfields from depredation, and that the report had never been heard of till after Lord Keane had quitted India. That your petitioner, who had just then (May 1840) arrived in India and could individually have no knowledge of the matter, and no bias in favour or against any one, received his information from a distinguished staff officer of Lord Keane's Army and who is still alive, and your petitioner is in a position to prove that the trooper was shot during the day, not by the videttes at all as the regimental records will show, that he was wounded by small shot, never used in the army, and that the piece was fired by Lord Keane's own hand, who naturally, of course, prevented any official report from being furnished to Government, though authentic information must exist regarding it in the hospital returns of the regiment and in the records of the Bengal Medical Board ; instead of never being noticed till after Lord Keane had quitted India on the 31st March 1840, it was fully discussed in the *Agra Akbar*, and most of the other Indian newspapers in August 1839 and in the *London Spectator* of February 1840, having sufficient time for making inquiries at the proper quarter, before the pension discussion came on. That Lord Keane was himself not slow in noticing what appeared in the newspapers, may be gathered from the action in which he was cast against the *Bombay Gazette* in July 1836, for having republished from the *Englishman* a letter accusing him of having caused a trooper condemned at Deesa to be hanged without the sanction of the Government, required by the Regulations ; and the fact of

his having passed the present charge (pronounced so grossly libellous in the House of Commons) by unnoticed, indicates that he felt its truth: the names of the newspaper writers, though according to custom, withheld from the letters were perfectly well known; the manuscripts of some of them are still in the hands of your petitioner, and there is no reason to doubt that, if called upon, they would not be unwilling to substantiate their statements, the truth of which no one in India ever doubted.

On the same occasion, and with the view, apparently, of throwing further discredit on the Press, it was stated by Sir John Hobhouse, that "the House was aware that in the last campaign (that is, the campaign under Lord Keane in 1839, then being considered by the House) a disaster had befallen our troops, under the Command of Major Clibborn, while endeavouring to relieve a fort." the two subjects getting mingled up in the debate, and both forming grounds of obloquy on the Press; that a commission had been appointed to enquire into the disaster, the reports of which had been surreptitiously obtained and published by the newspapers just before the departure of the mail of the 1st December.

In point of fact the trooper of the 2nd Cavalry was shot in July 1839, near Ghuznee, in the centre of Affghanistan, 60 days' march at least from the pass of Nuffoosk, where Major Clibborn was repulsed on the 31st August 1840, 13 months afterwards, nine months after Lord Keane had quitted command in Affghanistan and five months after he had left Bombay for England. The report of the Commission, which bears date 22nd November 1840, obtained publicity through the instrumentality of General Brooks, its Chairman, subsequently deprived of his command of the troops in Scinde, as a punishment for this; it appeared in the *Bombay Courier*, on the 19th December, that paper being blameless in the matter, not as stated immediately before the despatch of the mail or with any view whatever to the injury of the prospects of Lord Keane, who could in no shape be affected by it, and in reference to whom it was not known that any debate was impending, but 12 days before hand, leaving abundance of time for the commentaries which were made upon it in the *Bombay Times*, and which were sent

home along with it, by your petitioner, which expressed the same sentiments in almost the same words as those expressed by the Bombay Government six months, and by the Court of Directors nearly a twelvemonth, afterwards.

On the same occasion Lord John Russell spoke of Lord Keane's crossing the Indus on his advance as an event of sufficient importance to be coupled with his march through the Bolan Pass ; Lord Keane and the column in reality marched through Scinde by Larkhana to the mouth of the pass and never crossed the river at all.

In July 1843 a letter from General Nott appeared in the English newspaper, bearing date Lucknow, 4th April, and which must have been sent home direct, for publication, in reply to one from Sir James Lumley, Adjutant-General to the Bengal Army, of the 29th March, calling upon him by directions of the Governor-General to report upon certain excesses said to have been committed by the British troops in Affghanistan : the letter of Sir James Lumley has never appeared in print, and its tenor can only be gathered from the terms of the reply, written as it is in a wild, declamatory tone, apparently from the first intended for the Press, and as unlike as possible the calm and temperate style of official correspondence between an old Major-General and the Adjutant-General of the army.

It would appear that General Lumley, by direction of Lord Ellenborough, had asserted that certain very infamous imputations had been made against the army by the newspapers, and these were pronounced to be "gross and villanous falsehoods."

In reality they were never made by any one, or heard of in India, until General Nott's letter denouncing them appeared and the conclusion, that the whole affair was got up with the view of giving a blow to the character of the Press is inevitable. General Nott's letter was forwarded to England through the Secret Department, and was not made known to the Court of Directors by the Secret Committee till after its publication, of which no notice seems ever to have been taken by the Government of India, although severely blamed in the official despatch of the Court to the Governor-General under date 2nd August 1843. Yet so averse at this time was the Government of India to all communication of its

servants with the Press, that Mr. Erskine of the Bengal Civil Service, had the previous year been punished by loss of employment for sending to the *Friend of India* an extract from a private note from his kinsman, Sir William Macnaghten, and the publication in the *Bombay Times* of the letter from Colonel Sleeman, Resident at Bundelkund, correcting some misstatements in reference to his proceedings, called forth the most stringent general order against all communications with the Press.

The extent to which the newspapers of India are indebted to the servants of Government for support, instead of being prepared for, and maintained by those unconnected with, the services, as asserted, is easily susceptible of distrust, and specific proof from the subscription list of the newspapers themselves, which will be produced if required, or by the examination of the editors: in 1848 the *Mofussilite* printed a list of all its subscribers, from which it appeared that four-fifths of these were members of the public service; and in a classified list of its subscribers lately laid before the proprietors of the *Bombay Times* and which is at the service of the Committee, it appears that out of 1,000 subscribers, assuming that to be the number on the list, (123) one-hundred and twenty-three were civil servants of the Government, (179) one-hundred and seventy-nine messes and regimental libraries, (317) three-hundred and seventeen military men, (52) fifty-two British merchants, (36) thirty-six bank and public corporations, (26) twenty-six were natives, (243) two-hundred and forty-three were private individuals, uncovenanted servants, tradesmen, etc.; the rest clergymen, lawyers, native rajas and the like, or in all 719, or two-thirds of the whole were officers of the Crown, or covenanted servants of Government. It may safely be assumed that the maxim which holds good all over the world will obtain in India, and the amount and nature of commodities brought to market will speedily adjust themselves to the demand. That newspaper proprietors will supply and news-editors write, what is deemed most popular and acceptable amongst the newspaper reading classes, and what they are best disposed to pay for, that the returns on such things are ample, will be seen from a paper published in 1850, when the *Bombay Times* changed its proprietors; by this it

was shown, that during the previous ten years, your petitioner had earned, as remuneration for himself, or free profit for his employers, the sum of £33,000 sterling in cash, besides meeting all the charges of the establishment, and extending its strength and efficiency.

That the source of these aspersions, or misapprehensions, seems to be in the misconduct of a small proportion of the journals of India for the most part conducted by men freshly arrived from newspaper offices at home—journals which do not more fairly represent the Press of India in general than do the *Satirists*, *Ages* and *Towns* of London represent the newspapers of England, the existence of which, at all times precarious and short-lived, might seem inconceivable, were it not, from the diversity of tastes amongst us, such as that manifested by the late Commander-in-Chief, Sir Charles Napier, who mentioned the *Gentleman's Gazette* in his public letters, as only upright, respectable paper in India, that journal having been pronounced by the unanimous voice of the Indian Press a disgrace to it.

That the officers of the Indian Army and the members of the Civil Service, who may be supposed to be tolerable judges of such matters, send home by every mail 3,000 or 4,000 copies of Indian newspapers for the use of their friends, although these cost from two to three times the cost of the newspapers published in London, professedly devoted to Indian subjects, and which embody at least twice the amount of the printed matter Indian newspapers afford ; that the character of our newspapers throughout the Continent must be very different from that the witnesses before your Committee confer on it, may be inferred from the fact that your petitioner has long had on his subscription list a considerable proportion of the Courts or leading statesmen throughout the east of Europe.

Your Petitioner, therefore, humbly prays :—

That your Honourable House will give instructions to your Committee, now assembled for the investigation of Indian Affairs that, instead of accepting, as hitherto, evidence on the state of the Press emanating as in the case of Mr. Mill, either from gentlemen who profess to possess no personal knowledge

on the subject, but are made to assent to the most obnoxious and injurious insinuations interwoven in the questions put to him, or who may of themselves become prejudiced against the Press from strictures made by it, on their own public conduct or may consider it, as a vast number of public servants still do, the grossest impertinence in newspapers to presume to make any remark whatever on the conduct and condition of the privileged classes, that they will summon before them gentlemen, and cause them to be duly interrogated, from India, or at home now, or formerly connected with the Press in the East, who alone can speak with authority on this most important subject.

The Indian newspaper press is now on its trial ; the great measure of Lord Metcalfe has come into operation since last Charter Act was passed ; the fears expressed by Serjeant Spankie, and other distinguished men, 25 years ago, of the frightful consequences of unlicensed journalism in India, have proved as visionary as the alarm of Mr. Melville and others at the consequences of Free Trade ; the ignorance prevalent regarding it, even amongst men of the highest talent connected with India, will be seen from the grievous misstatements in Thornton's History, in the articles written by a distinguished Bengal Civilian in the *North British Review* in 1845, in Mr. Campbell's book, and Mr. Mill's evidence, which has not only been shown to be untrue, and without foundation, but to involve the absurdity of upwards £100,000 a year being spent by the servants of the Company, or officers of the Queen's army, on what is described as the most contemptible literary rubbish that can be produced, when the very best might have been on the same terms procured by them ; and for many a day to come the newspaper press of India must furnish the sole means by which the community at home can become enlightened as to what is passing in the East, in reference to which the published despatches and ministers of the Crown so often mislead them so fearfully. The extent to which English education is now spreading amongst the native community is rapidly introducing habits of reading not before in existence, and which will, of course, seek gratification from the English newspapers, as being most readily attainable and at hand, and it is, therefore, of the utmost importance both to England and to India that no

misapprehension shall exist as to the position the newspaper press actually occupies ; if it should prove to be the mean, vile and contemptible thing it is described, some means should be taken to qualify it for all the important task it is to perform, and the lofty destinies that seem to await English journalism in every part of the world ; if as your petitioner maintains, it be otherwise, the delusion apparently at present so general, ought not to attain additional weight or countenance from the results of the investigations before the Committee of your Honourable House.

That your petitioner is unwilling to intrude any personal or private considerations in a subject possessed of sufficient public importance to claim the attention of Parliament ; but your Honourable House will admit that few things can be found more unjust, cruel or intolerable than for the only body of professionally literary men existing in the East, labouring with the utmost earnestness and singleness of purpose as public instructors, and for the public good, often individually devoting an amount of time, labour and thought to benevolent enterprises such as might put highly paid servants to shame, and whose great ambition themselves is to deserve and secure the approbation of their countrymen, stigmatised, without a shadow of excuse or foundation, as coarse, untrustworthy, vulgar, slanderous writers, worthy of no respect or estimation whatever, and whose statements are entitled to no weight or consideration.

That your petitioner in seeking redress for himself has restricted his complaint and assertions to the *Bombay Times*, simply because he had no authority to include the grievances of his contemporaries amongst his own, although the grounds of his complaints are general. He claims no peculiar excellencies for the paper he conducts over those of his brethren, from the columns of which many of the most important facts he had had to deal with have been drawn, and he has no doubt that they will claim, as they justly may, for themselves and their journals as great an amount of consideration at the hands of your Honourable House as your petitioner claims for himself and for his.

That your Honourable House will take these things into your early consideration, and adopt such measures for procuring

the redress that is desired as may in your wisdom seem meet is the prayer of your petitioner.

And your petitioner will ever pray.

GEORGE BUIST,

BOMBAY, 17th November 1852. *Editor of the Bombay Times.*

On the 12th March 1853, R. D. Luard of the Indian Civil Service, then Collector of Continental Customs, who had been degraded from his position as Judge of Surat, published a letter in the *Telegraph and Courier*, reflecting on the character of Messrs. Ball and Simson. He asked the Bombay Government to allow the injured parties to sue him criminally in the Supreme Court. But the Government of Bombay did otherwise and suspended him.

In May 1853, the Court of Directors authorised the Government of India, in the following despatch, to determine whether any engagements which the East India Company's Officers may form in connection with the Indian Press are consistent with the discharge of their primary duties to the Indian Government :—

Despatch from the Court of Directors, No. 25, dated the 11th May 1853.

The object of our despatch of the 21st April 1841 was

Military letter, dated 14th July, No. 122 of 1852.

Transmitting correspondence with Assistant Surgeon D. J. O'Callaghan, Assistant Garrison Surgeon of Fort William, respecting that officer's engagement as editorial conductor of the *Morning Chronicle*, daily newspaper at Calcutta. With reference to the Court's despatch, dated 21st April 1841, Government had refrained from interference in cases where Government Officers may have contributed articles for the periodical press; but with advertence to the different case of editing a daily paper, a reference is made to the Court to ascertain whether the undertaking of the editorial management is allowable, under their orders above referred to.

simply to remove the prohibition which then existed to the connection of our officers in any way with the public Press, and the effect of it was to restore to your Government the discretionary power to regulate that connection which you had possessed before our prohibitory orders were issued. Under these circumstances, it rests with you to determine, with such local information as you may possess, whether any engagements which our officers

may form in connection with the Press are consistent with the discharge of their primary duties to the Government and are free from the objection of affording an inconvenient precedent for other cases.

We are, &c.,

J. OLIPHANT

AND OTHER DIRECTORS.

LONDON, }
The 11th May 1853. }

On the 1st of August 1853, the *Jam-e-Jamshed* was converted into a daily paper, and Dosabhai Framji Karaka was made its editor.

On the 1st January 1854, Dadabhai Ardesher Shohezi started a humorous paper called the *Parsee Punch* to represent in caricature persons not mindful of their public duties. But this paper was a short-lived concern having lived for only ten months. In this year Nasarwanji Dorabji Apakhtiyar also started a weekly paper called the *Apakhtiyar* which also circulated for only a short period.

In 1854, the Government of Bombay opened in the Secretariat an "Editor's Room," where public news of importance were laid open for the use of the Bombay Press.

In July of this year, the project of publishing a quarterly review in Bombay was discussed at a dinner given by H. L. Anderson, then Secretary to the Bombay Government in the Political Department. There were present among others :—William Howard (afterwards Advocate-General of Bombay), his brother, Edward Howard (afterwards Director of Public Instruction), William Frere (afterwards a member of the

Government of Bombay), H. B. Frere (afterwards the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Bartle Frere), H. Conybeare (the Civil Engineer), Captain W. F. Marriott, (afterwards Secretary to the Bombay Government in the Military Department), the Rev. Philip Anderson, M.A., Coren, (Registrar of the Sudder Adawlat), John Connon; Editor of the *Bombay Gazette*, Herbert John Giraud afterwards Principal of the Grant Medical College), and James Claudius Erskine (afterwards a member of the Government of Bombay. The Rev. P. Anderson, author of *The English in Western India*, was chosen to be editor; and it was determined, after considerable discussion that articles on other than Indian subjects should be admitted. The *Review* was to be published by Messrs. Smith, Elder and Co., who had at that time a branch firm in Bombay.*

The tone of the Bombay Press of this time is thus graphically described by Robert Knight :—" Upon Mr. (T.J.A.) Scott's retirement from the paper, the *Telegraph and Courier* fell into unfortunate hands (one Mr. Halcraft), and as Dr. George Buist was an *habitué* of (Bombay) Government House—far too much so

* The *Bombay Quarterly Review* appeared in 1855 and was a fair success so long as it lived, the literary ability of some of the articles being of a high standard, especially those written by Edward Howard. One of these on Thackeray's novels, was shown to Thackeray himself and declared by him to be the best he had ever read on his works. Edward Howard also wrote articles on "Oxford," "Music as a social recreation" and "Burton's Pilgrimage to Mecca." Lewis Pelly (afterwards knighted) wrote one on Sind, W. F. Marriot, one on Ruskin's works, Bartle Frere (afterwards knighted), one on Rifle Musketry, the Rev. Philip Anderson, one on William Erskine's *Life of Babar* and several others founded on the old records of the Government of Bombay which he intended, when completed, to be published as a second volume of his *English in Western India*. His namesake, Henry Anderson (afterwards knighted) wrote two: one on J. W. Kaye's *Life of Lord Metcalfe*, and the other on "Competitive Examinations for the Civil Service." Dr. Peet, Principal of the Grant Medical College, wrote two: one on "Education in Western India," and the other on "the Moon and her Libellers." Kinloch Forbes, author of *Ras Mala*, wrote one on J. W. Kaye's *Life of Sir John Malcolm*. These are all that have been ascertained.

The death of the Editor, the Rev. Philip Anderson, then Chaplain of Colaba, on the 13th December 1857 at the age of 42, and the occurrence of the Mutiny brought the *Review* to a close in 1858.

unfortunately for his reputation's sake--and the other journalists were not—the *Bombay Gazette* (under John Connon) and the *Telegraph and Courier* (under Mr. Halcraft) rivalled each other in scurrilous abuse of the *Bombay Times* (under Dr. George Buist). The attacks upon him in the other two papers were always coarse, and sometimes even brutal. The late Mr. Connon was for years a heavy offender in this direction, and the language sometimes used by him would seem incredible to men in these days. We well remember one of these amenities in which he opened his attack upon the 'spirit of a jackass that dwells in our flunkey contemporary.' In the same way he thought it witty to speak of Mr. Halcraft of the *Telegraph and Courier* as 'our contemporary Calcraft' seldom designating him in any other way. Connon was driven into a show of decency by the advent of Mr. George Craig to the *Telegraph and Courier*. Craig was a man of good natural abilities, and being a vigorous writer, not very scrupulous, and great master of abuse, Mr. Connon found the game too warm, and finally left the 'gutter' to his rival, with a plaintive appeal to the public, against the ruffianly degradation of the Bombay Press by Mr. Craig. As a fact, the ruffianism of the Bombay Press for several years was certainly unprecedented."

Another journalist writing on the same subject says: "In those distant days the ethics of the Fourth Estate (of Bombay) were apt to find expression in lampoons well-seasoned with epigrammatic comments on the personal peculiarities of rival editors. I remember Robert Knight saying, how shocked he was on landing in Bombay (in 1846) in the Forties at finding the Fort Walls which were then intact, placarded with notices impugning John Connon's veracity. There had

been a journalistic quarrel, and one of the combatants finding that the columns of his paper were not spacious enough for his polemics, had adopted this curious mode of publishing them."

(*To be continued.*)

S. C. SANIAL.

Art. VI.—THE ANNALS OF THE BURDWAN RAJ.

THE Burdwan Raj has been famed from days of yore for its princely liberalities and its numerous works of public utility. This ancient and enormous estate is composed of properties situated in 19 different districts comprising an area of over 4,000 square miles with a population of about 2 million souls. The revenue which the Burdwan Estate pays into the Imperial treasury is the largest in India and its total collection exceeds that of any other Raj in the Bengal Presidency. The Maharajas of Burdwan have been in the enjoyment of high honours and privileges ever since the days of the Moghul emperors ; and even so late as the beginning of the nineteenth century they occupied a political status in no way inferior to that of a feudatory. The history of this great House is therefore likely to prove highly interesting, for it will serve to show how gradually from a small plot of territory it has attained the magnitude and proportions of a great Raj.

We find many incidents in the history of the Burdwan Raj narrated in the monumental works of Sir W. W. Hunter with his usual vigour and precision, and obtain some glimpse of its early history from works like Rev. Long's Selections from the Unpublished Records of Government and Fifth Report of the Select Committee of the East India Company.

It appears that the founder of the House who first immigrated to Bengal and settled at Burdwan was one Sangam Ray, a Kapur Kshattriya of Kotli in Lahore, who, on his way back from a pilgrimage to Puri, being much taken with its natural beauty and commercial advantages, chose to live at Baikunthapur, a

village lying near about the outskirts of the town. Commerce and money-lending being his principal pursuits, he soon acquired for himself a position of influence in the locality. The date of the immigration and settlement of this Kshattriya at Burdwan can only be approximately determined. We find that his grandson Abu Ray was appointed Chowdhuri and Kotwal in 1657 A.D. Taking the period intervening between the two incidents to be 60 years, we come to the conclusion that it was towards the end of Emperor Akbar's reign that Sangam Ray settled at Burdwan.

It appears also that before this the place had been honoured with the precious remains of one Pir Bahram Shakka, a dervish of great renown. This great man was a native of Turkestan and came to Delhi in the time of Emperor Akbar, who placed implicit confidence in him. He lived for some time in the enjoyment of the highest honours of the Court, but disgusted at the jealousy of the courtier brothers Abul Fazl and Faizi, he left Delhi and came to Burdwan in 1562 A.D. He, however, lived here for only three days and then slept the last long sleep. It is said that there was at that time at Burdwan a Hindu Yogi named Yogi Jaypal, who, very much struck and impressed with the miracles performed by Pir Bahram became his disciple, and, making over all his belongings to Pir Bahram, repaired to a corner of the garden. When the news of Bahram Shakka's death reached Akbar, he, through the Nawab Nazim of Bengal, allotted the revenues of certain villages to the perpetuation of his memory. He also gave orders to construct the mosque, to lay out the extensive mango gardens and to re-excavate the tank adjoining the garden and granted a fixed monthly allowance of Rs. 60 to be devoted to charity. In course of time

this monthly allowance came to be reduced to Rs. 41 which is the amount which the Government now pays. It is further related that Bahram Shakka was a Haji of Mecca and Medina and that he used to give water to thirsty people in the streets of Mecca and Najaf (Shakka in Arabic means water-carrier) This act was considered highly virtuous. And Bahram Shakka himself referred in one of his *musnabis* to Shaikh Sadi the poet who performed the same act for nearly 40 years. The Persian inscription in the mosque gives the date of his death 970 Hijri.

Nearly half a century later in 1610 A.D., there took place at Burdwan that memorable contest between Shere Afghan and Kutbuddin, which forms one of the saddest chapters of Mahomedan history. Shere Afghan, the lawful husband of Nur Jehan, was a man of intrepid valour and unstained honour. It is said that he was so named after he had killed a tiger with his own hand without the help of any weapon. Kutbuddin was sent by Emperor Jehangir to subdue Shere Afghan and take away that precious jewel Nur Jehan (then called Meherun Nissa) from Burdwan, where she was living with her husband. Shere Afghan, on being apprised of the approach of Kutbuddin and not suspecting any foul play, went to greet him. The contest took place near Sadanpur on the borders of the town, and both Shere Afghan and Kutbuddin were killed in the fight. Kutbuddin fell by Shere Afghan's sword, who in turn was killed by Kutbuddin's followers. The dead bodies of Shere Afghan and Kutbuddin were removed for burial to the place of Pir Bahram, and there these two warriors whom Death has made brothers in the grave rest side by side under the shade of the mango trees on the left side of the entrance to the mosque.

Sangam Ray was succeeded by his son Banku Behari Ray, who continued to live at Baikunthapur and carry on the trade of his father.

After him, his son Abu Ray was the first to attract the notice of the Moghul Government. Once in the time of Emperor Aurangzeb, when a detachment of troops was passing through Burdwan on its way to Dacca, the Fouzdar of Burdwan was in great difficulty in procuring food and provisions for the army. The wary Kshattriya lost no time in helping the Fouzdar by supplying the necessary provisions, and in recognition of his timely and valuable services, he was appointed "Chaudhuri" and "Kotwal" of Rekabi Bazar, etc., in the town of Burdwan under the Fouzdar of Burdwan in 1068 Hijri, A.D. 1657.

His son Babu Ray succeeded to the "Chaudhurahi" and owned pergana Burdwan and three other estates, paying about a lakh of rupees in the shape of revenue to the Moghul Government. He was the first to remove to Burdwan and take up his residence in the town.

His son Ghanasyam Ray succeeded to the above estates and honours. It was in his time, about 1674 A.D., that the splendid Shyamsagar tank in Burdwan was excavated. He died in 1675 A.D.

Ghanasyam Ray's son Krishna Ram Ray succeeded to the zemindari and acquired new estates. He was honoured with a farman from Emperor Aurangzeb dated the 24th Rabiwal Akbar in the thirty-eighth year of his reign (1106 Hijri, about 1694 A.D.), confirming him as Zemindar and Chaudhuri of pergana Burdwan, etc.

In 1696 A.D., Gopal Singh, Raja of Bishnupur, Sobha Singh, Talukdar of Chitwa and Bardha (then a part of Burdwan) and Raghunath Singh, Talukdar of Chandrakona, with the assistance of the Afghan Sardar

Rahim Khan of Orissa took up arms and marched in a body against Krishna Ram Ray. Krishna Ram fought bravely against the united forces of the enemies, but was at last defeated and slain. All his properties as well as the female inmates of his house fell into the hands of the enemies. His son Jagat Ram Ray who alone escaped with his life fled for assistance to the Nawab of Dacca. The Governor of Dacca sent along with Jagat Ram a Mahomedan captain who fought and got back all the properties for Jagat Ram. It is said that this captain after the recapture of the properties died and the Maharaja of Burdwan again sought the assistance of the Governor of Dacca. The brother of the late deceased captain came to Burdwan and lived at Ber, well known as Khwaje Anwar Ka Ber or compound or residence of Khwaje Anwar.

Another account of the origin of this notable place of interest "Khwaje Anwar Ka Ber" is that "Khwaje Anwar was deputed by the Emperor of Delhi with a detachment of army to suppress Sobha Singh and Babu Singh, who had risen against the Maharaja of Burdwan. Khwaje Anwar met with a rather mysterious death in his tent at Murkati, a place on the opposite side of the Damudar. He was a great favourite of Emperor Farukshiyar, who made arrangements for his burial at Ber, and had the building erected and gave Ber and five *moujas* (Edilpur, etc) to his descendants. The five *moujas* were settled by the Government with the Maharaja of Burdwan and in lieu of the rent of the *moujas*, Rs. 321 is received every month from the local collectorate, from which are met all expenses in connection with *shirinis*, charities and feeding of fakirs."

When Sobha Singh had captured the members of Krishna Ram's family, the ladies committed suicide,

in order to save their honour, by taking poison, except Krishna Ram's daughter Satyabati who succeeded in making an end of Sobha Singh by plunging a dagger into his breast when he tried to embrace her and then stabbed herself to death.

Krishna Ram Ray caused the magnificent Krishna-sagar tank, which is one of the ornaments of the town, to be excavated and it was named after him. It is said that labour was so cheap in those days, that the labourers were paid at the rate of only a *cowrie* for each basketful of earth.

Krishna Ram Ray's son Jagat Ram Ray succeeded his father and made additions to the family estates. He was honoured with a farman from Emperor Aurangzeb in A.D. 1699, confirming him as Zemindar and Chaudhuri of pergunas Burdwan, etc., consisting of 50 mahals. It is said that he fell by an assassin's dagger while bathing in the Krishnasagar tank in 1702 A. D. Jagat Ram Ray left two sons, Kirtti Chand Ray and Mitra Sen Ray, of whom the former inherited the ancestral property and the latter received maintenance.

Kirtti Chand Ray was a man of great valour. He defeated Hemmat Singh, the brother of Sobha Singh, who killed Krishna Ram Ray and took possession of his estates. He also successfully fought against the talukdars of Chandrakona, Bardha and Balghara and took possession of their estates. In this way he added to his ancestral property the pergunas of Chitwa, Bardha, Monoharsahi and Bhursut, the last being the property of the poet Bharat Chandra. He also received a farman from Emperor Aurangzeb in 1704 A.D., and another from Emperor Muhammad Shah in 1737 A.D. and greatly helped the Nawab in driving out the Mahratta robbers from the country. He did

immense good to his subjects by excavating tanks in different places of his zemindari, where there was scarcity of water. And his mother Brojo Kishori caused the beautiful Ranisagar tank in Burdwan to be excavated in 1709 A.D. He owned at the time of his death 57 pergunas paying to the Moghul Government nearly 21 lakhs in the shape of revenue.

On the death of Kirtti Chand, which happened in 1740 A.D., his only son Chitra Sen Roy inherited the ancestral property to which he added the pergunas of Mandalghat and Arsha. He received a number of farmans from the Moghul Emperor and the Nawab of Bengal, of which one from Emperor Muhammad Shah, dated 1740 A.D., honoured him with the title of "Raja." They all conferred on him high duties and privileges such as the administration of justice, preservation of the peace, suppression of highway robbery, punishment of criminals and the like.

Chitra Sen died in 1744 A.D., without issue, and was succeeded by his cousin Mitra Sen's son, Tilak Chand, who, on his succession, received a farman from Emperor Muhammad Shah, confirming him in the title of "Raja" and his right to the Raj. He was afterwards honoured by Emperor Ahmed Shah with a farman in 1753, recognising and confirming his right to the Raj. He received a farman from Emperor Shah Alum II through the Commander-in-Chief in 1764, making him "Raja Bahadur" and "Master of 4,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry." Lastly he was invested with the title of "Maharaj Dhiraj Bahadur" and "Panch Hazari" or "Commander of 5,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry" with authority to keep guns and to use martial music, by a farman from Emperor Shah Alum, dated 14th Ramzan 1181 Hijri, 1768 A.D.

Maharaja Tilak Chand Bahadur died in 1770 at the age of 37 and was succeeded by his minor son Maharaja Tej Chand Bahadur, aged six years, who, on his succession, was recognised as the Maharaja of Burdwan and immediately afterwards received from the Commander-in-Chief in 1771 a *sanad*, confirming him in the titles of "Maharaja Dhiraj Bahadur" and "Master of 5,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry" with authority to keep guns, bands, etc. The administration of the district and of the Burdwan Raj was, during the period of his minority, in the hands of the Maharaja's capable guardian mother Maharani Bishan Kumari and his representative. During his time the vast estates of the Raj were brought within the operations of Regulation I of 1793, the basis of the Permanent Settlement under the British rule. The administration of civil and criminal justice which had so long remained in the hands of the Maharajas of Burdwan was transferred to the Company in 1790. And in 1793 the Company also took upon itself the work of preservation of the peace, which too was one of the functions of the Maharaja, by instituting the system of police organisation in the district. In 1797 some portions of his zemindari estates were sold away in pursuance of the provisions of the new regulation on account of his failure in the punctual discharge of the public revenue. In 1788 his mother Maharani Bishan Kumari built and consecrated the group of 109 temples at Nawabhat as productive of great religious merit. He caused several roads to be constructed for the convenience of the public, the most notable of which is the one leading from Burdwan to Kalna. During this time the people of Burdwan suffered terrible hardship from the inundation of the river Damodar, which, during the rains, submerged the whole town

One such flood which occurred in 1823 produced most disastrous consequences. At the time of the Permanent Settlement, the Maharaja had stipulated to pay annually a considerable sum of money into the Government treasury for the construction and upkeep of an embankment to protect the country from the ravages of the inundation; and at the time of the terrible flood of 1823 he earned the gratitude of the people and the appreciation of the Government by helping the homeless and distressed people. Maharaja Tej Chand Bahadur had eight wives and a son by his sixth wife named Pratap Chand, who predeceased him. Maharaja Tej Chand Bahadur entrusted his son Pratap Chand with the management of his vast estates, portions of which had already given way to the Revenue Sale Law; and it was through the intervention of Maharaja Pratap Chand and primarily for the benefit of the Raj that the Legislature thought fit to pass Regulation VIII of 1819, which gave to the Maharaja the same summary remedy against his own putnidars as the Government had against him. Maharaja Pratap Chand died in 1820 at Kalna at the age of 29. Maharaja Tej Chand Bahadur then adopted as his son the youngest son of Paran Chand Babu in 1827. He died in 1832 after enjoying the *gadi* for sixty years and was succeeded by his adopted son, who was named Mahtab Chand.

Maharaja Mahtab Chand Bahadur succeeded his adoptive father when he was only 12 years old. He received a farman from Lord Bentinck dated the 30th August 1832 confirming him in the title of "Maharaj Adhiraj Bahadur" of Burdwan. Maharani Kamal Kumari and her brother Paran Chand Babu were appointed guardians of the minor maharaja to manage the affairs of the Raj during the period of his minority.

In 1835 a sham Protap Chand appeared on the scene. He alleged that he was Protap Chand, and that having committed a grievous sin, he had taken a vow by way of penance thereof to remain absent and unknown for some years, and that he did not actually die, but feigning symptoms of death he had escaped from Kalna and came now to claim his ancestral property. Some rich speculative people of Calcutta helped him with money to meet the necessary expenses of a lawsuit and an interesting and historic trial took place. The Court, however, totally disbelieved the story of the claimant and sentenced the pretender to imprisonment, which he survived for a few years, and subsequently died in Calcutta.

Maharaja Mahtab Chand Bahadur assumed charge of his estates in 1844, which he managed with great ability. He rendered help to the Government at the time of the Sonthal Insurrection in 1855 and stood by the Government at the time of the Sepoy Mutiny in 1857. In 1864 he was appointed an additional member of the Viceregal Legislative Council, being at the time the first nobleman in Bengal who was so honoured. In 1868 the Maharaja obtained for himself and his decendants the Royal License to bear "Arms and Supporters," and at the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi on the 1st January 1877 on the occasion of the Proclamation of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen as Empress of India, the right to receive a salute of 13 guns was granted to him together with the style of "His Highness" as a personal distinction. He placed a sum of Rs. 50,000 into the hands of the Bengal Government for the medical relief of the people at the time of the terrible outbreak of the Burdwan fever in 1869 and paid a sum of Rs. 10,000 to the

Government for the help of the famine-stricken people in Madras in 1877. He established in Burdwan a free English school and a charitable dispensary and caused authorised translations of the Ramayana and Mahabharata to be printed for free distribution to the people. By all these and numerous other acts of charity and public spirit, he won high honours from the Government and eternal gratitude from the people at large. He also made valuable additions to the ancestral zemindaries by purchasing the Kujong and Sujamutha estates. He died in 1879 after enjoying the *gadi* for 47 years and was succeeded by his adopted son, Aftab Chand Mahtab Bahadur, then aged 19 years.

On his attaining majority in 1881, Maharaj Adhiraj Aftab Chand Mahtab Bahadur was installed by Sir Ashley Eden, the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. He received a *sanad* from Lord Ripon, confirming him in all his honours and possessions. He, however, did not live long to enjoy his estate, but, during his short period, he spent a good deal of money for the public good. The Burdwan Raj School was raised by him to the status of a second grade college located in a splendid building at a cost of Rs. 80,000. He made a gift of a public circulating library to the town and gave Rs. 50,000 to the Burdwan Municipality for the Burdwan water-works. He died in 1885 at the age of 25, leaving behind him his widow, Maharani Adhirani Benodeyi Debi with authority to adopt a son. Maharani Benodeyi then adopted as her son the present Maharaj Adhiraj Sir Bejoy Chand Mahtab Bahadur in 1887 and died in 1888.

The Maharaja's estates were managed, during the period of his minority, by the Court of Wards with Raja Bun Behari Kapur, C.S.I., the father

of the present Maharaja who gave his son in adoption to the late Maharani Benodeyi, as manager, who managed the estates with singular ability and conspicuous success. The Maharaja was installed on the *gadi* by the Hon'ble Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, C.S.I., the then acting Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, on the 10th February 1903. Since taking charge of his estates he has been managing them with great efficiency and has already given sufficient proofs of his public spirit and generosity. In July 1905 a son was born to him, who has been named Udoy Chand Mahtab Bahadur. He received two *sanads* from Lord Curzon in 1903, conferring on him the title of "Maharaj Adhiraj Bahadur," and a *sanad* from Lord Minto, dated the 26th June 1908, conferring on him the hereditary title of "Maharaj Adhiraj Bahadur" to be attached to the estate. He was honoured by the Government with the title of K.C.I.E. on the 1st January 1909 and was admitted to the third class of the Civil Division of the Indian Order of Merit in recognition of the conspicuous courage displayed by him at the Overtoun Hall, Calcutta, on the 7th November 1908 in connection with the attempt upon the life of Sir Andrew Fraser, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

D. K. MUKERJI, M.A., B.L.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.—Annual Reports for 1905-06 and 1906-07.

IF these reports have made a somewhat tardy appearance, this is more than compensated for by the completeness of the information contained in them as well as the admirable way in which they have been produced, while the illustrations of some of the wonderful ancient monuments of this country attain the high water mark of excellence. A large amount of work under Mr. J. N. Marshall's orders has been done during the period under review in rescuing ancient monuments from modern utilitarian use. This work formed one of the most notable features of Conservation Work during Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty, and we learn that several more monuments of the Mughal epoch have been added to the list of those saved in this way. One of the best known of them is the Diwani-i-Am at Lahore which had done duty for many decades as a barrackroom. This hall has now been vacated by the Military and all the modern accretions which hid the ancient work from view have been demolished. The rescue of the Diwan-i-Am has been followed by the rescue of other ancient monuments. Mr. Marshall, whose work in India may be described as prodigious, sets forth very plainly the policy of the Archæological Department in regard to restoration which he says coincides very closely with that of the moderate thinkers at home who fully recognise the deplorable harm that can be done in the name of restoration, but recognise also that there may be religious, social, political or other considerations to be taken into account, which render it impracticable to lay down one law which will be applicable to one and every case. Taking the Taj at Agra as a concrete example, these were patent reasons the report points out for its restoration, which has given back to India a gem of unblemished beauty. The illustrations in the report are numerous.

CASTES AND TRIBES IN SOUTHERN INDIA.—VII. Volumes. By Edgar Thurston, C.I.E., assisted by K. Rangachari, M.A.

MR. EDGAR THURSTON hardly wants an introduction to the people of India. His name is a household one in this land, more especially in the South, where as Superintendent of the Madras Museum his name is held in the highest esteem. It is not surprising, therefore, that the ethnographic survey of the South of India, entrusted to his hands, should have produced such complete information as contained in the seven volumes, encyclopaedic in the fullness of the information contained therein, of the numerous castes and tribes inhabiting the southern portion of India. Mr. Thurston, however, does not take all the credit for the preparation of the splendid work which has reached us, but believing in the old maxim *palman qui meruit ferat* acknowledges his hearty appreciation of the services rendered to it by his assistant, Mr. K. Rangachari. Briefly the task set before Mr. Thurston in 1901 was to record the "manners and customs and physical characters of more than 300 castes and tribes, representing more than 40,000,000 individuals, and spread over an area exceeding 150,000 square miles." This achievement is recorded in the seven volumes; and the descriptions, etc., of the tribes and castes alphabetically arranged and accompanied by numerous excellent illustrations are fully set out in the most interesting manner in the work before us. The volumes have been well printed at the Government Press, Madras, and will form a standard work on the subject dealt with.

TRANS-HIMALAYA DISCOVERIES AND ADVENTURES IN TIBET.—By Sven Hedin. Messrs. Macmillan and Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London.

THE great traveller Sven Hedin, who it seemed only the other day was welcomed by the Viceroy and distinguished people at Simla after his travels in Tibet, has now given us in two volumes a very pleasantly written narrative of his fifth journey to Asia—one which has resulted, after many privations, in the Swedish explorer locating the hitherto great white space

in the Trans-Himalaya region. Sven Hedin crossed in a single line the region between the Khalampa-la and the Suruge-la. He was able to trace the course of the Trans-Himalaya and prove that its known eastern and western sections are connected and belong to the same mountain system and that this system is one of the loftiest and mightiest in the world, only to be compared with the Himalayas, the Karakorum, Arka-tag and Kuen-lun. "Between the Shiangan-la and Zasin, not far from the sharp bend of the Indus," says the author, "its length amounts to 1,400 miles, but if it can be shown that the Trans-Himalaya merges into the Hindu Kush and continues along the Salwin its length extends to 2,500 miles." The two volumes have a particular fascination for us in India and should stimulate interest in the wonderful country which is so near to us and the mysteries of which are gradually beginning to dissipate. Sven Hedin's name is well known throughout this country, and any account of his travels by himself will no doubt command a large popularity through the length and breadth of this large country.

THE COCHIN TRIBES AND CASTES.

WE have received a copy of Vol. I of this most interesting work from the publishers, Messrs. Higginbotham and Co. of Madras. Price Rs. 10. In 1902 the author, Mr. L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer, B.A., L.T., was entrusted with the Ethnographical Survey of the State. The results of his investigations into the customs and manners of the local hill and jungle tribes and the lowest castes were published from time to time in the form of monographs, which after revision have now been presented with illustrations in the single volume before us. The volume deals with all the Malayali and Animistic castes, and photographs of same are interspersed with the reading matter. We are promised a second and third volume later on which will deal with the higher castes (high and low caste Indians), Ambalavasies, Elayads, Muthads, Brahmans, Jews, Muham-madans, and Christians, together with the physical anthropology of the inhabitants of the State. The volume begins with a

preface by Mr. John Beddoe, the distinguished past President of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, and bears testimony to the interest and importance of Mr. Iyer's work, which is rendered all the more interesting because the author belongs to India by race and nativity, and because Cochin, though limited in extent, is a province affording opportunities to the ethnologist which can hardly be excelled anywhere in India, having a gamut of castes extending from the Brahman and the Nair, among whom features of high Aryan type are common, and whose aspect little else than colour discriminates from the upper class European, to the scarcely human wretch who is not, theoretically at least, allowed to crawl within a hundred yards of the Brahman, but who, nevertheless, as Mr. Iyer shows, voluntarily circumscribes what little liberty is left to him, by various caste devices and prohibitions. We feel sure that in addition to the coterie of students of Ethnology and Sociology the book will attract a large number of readers both in the East and West.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

Abstract and detailed tables showing imports according to Countries of Consignment and Exports to Countries of Final Destination for the official year ending 31st March 1908, Vols. I and II. Government of India.

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*The Cochin Tribes and Castes by K. Anantha Krishna Iyer, B.A., LT.—*Messrs. Higginbotham and Co.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

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April 1910.

No man who hath tested learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contained with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world; and were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. 260.—APRIL 1910.

Art. I.—THE QUARTER.

ALMOST the very commencement of the Quarter of a new year was rendered memorable by the meeting for the first time of the Provincial Legislative Councils, reconstituted and enlarged under the Reform Scheme. In every case the President delivered an address of welcome to the members, the dominant note of which was one of hope and encouragement. The audience in each case were told that they were assisting at the birth of a new era in the history of India, and that success would depend on the spirit in which the Councillors recognised their responsibilities. The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal concluded a pithy speech with the following words:—"I trust that I can confidently rely upon your putting aside all thoughts of rivalry and personal considerations, and working with the single-minded desire of securing the welfare and prosperity of the people in regard to whom you are asked to advise. Imbued with these feelings, actuated by the sole and exclusive regard for the advancement of the Province, it cannot well be that,

The New Era.

well-informed as you are of the circumstances with which you will have to deal, your efforts will be infructuous, and I venture to predict that when you lay down your term of office you will do so with the proud satisfaction of knowing that you have in no small measure contributed to the wealth and prosperity, contentment and happiness of the people of this Province." We trust this will prove to be so.

The meetings of the Provincial Councils were followed a few weeks later by the opening meeting of the Reformed Imperial Council in the historic Chamber of Government House, at which Lord Minto made a memorable speech, again demonstrating his sympathy with Indian aspirations which he was not anxious to see delayed for the sins of a minority. It was a most unfortunate coincidence that the Inaugural Meeting should have been preceded by a fresh outburst of anarchism and that the foul hand of the assassin should have removed an excellent officer of the Police Force, during the hearing of the appeal in the notorious Alipur Case, the deed being committed in the High Court, and which drew from His Excellency the following significant words: "I had hoped," he said, "to open this new Council under an unclouded political sky. No one has longed more earnestly than I have to allow bygones to be bygones and to commence a new administrative era with a clean slate. The course of recent events has cancelled the realisation of those hopes, and I can but assert that the first duty of every government is to maintain the observance of the law, to provide for the present and, as far as it can, for the future welfare of the populations committed to its charge—to rule, and, if need be, to rule with a strong hand." And soon after the strong hand was shown by the introduction

of the long promised Press Act which requires the deposit of substantial security by owners of newspapers and printing presses, and which may be forfeited for the preaching of sedition. These sections were opposed by certain members of the Council, but the opposition did not avail them much, and they were also unsuccessful in obtaining a reduction of the security. The Act gives the Executive more power than it previously possessed, and it also empowers an appeal to the High Court.

It is most lamentable that on the eve of the opening of the enlarged Imperial Council of Calcutta there should have been an eruption of the volcano of sedition in our midst. First came the serious intelligence that certain seditious elements were tampering with the loyalty of a native regiment, *viz.*, the 10th Jats, located in Calcutta, and that some of them had even been seduced by the seditionists. The affair was, however, kept very close by the military authorities, but the ugly aspect, which lends colour to its seriousness, is the fact that the regiment was suddenly removed from the capital and sent to the Bombay Presidency.

This incident was followed soon after by one of the most daring crimes that has been committed by the anarchists, in which a Bengali youth shot down a zealous Mahomedan police inspector, who had rendered valuable service to the Government in running some of the Manicktollah gang to earth, and who had long been marked down by the anarchists as one who "had to die." The crime was committed in the High Court, Calcutta—before the Chief Justice and other judges had left its vicinity at the close of the day, and astounded Calcutta

by the boldness and daring with which it was accomplished :—

Inspector Alum who was murdered was 36 years old and leaves a wife and six children. His father was a pleader of the Alipore Bar and came from Burdwan district. Alum had rendered signal service to Government in the Alipore case.

The Political Situation. The Political Air was certainly much calmer at the end of the Quarter, and there is no doubt that the Viceroy's significant words of warning at the Inaugural Meeting of the enlarged Imperial Council, together with the passing of the Press Act soon after were contributory causes to the improvement in the situation. The fresh outburst of Anarchism earlier in the Quarter, the general uneasiness and preparation of action on the part of the Anglo-Indian Community, were ominous features at one time, but little by little the situation seemed to ease and gradually resumed normal conditions, and it is hoped that the Viceroy will be rewarded with peace when the time comes for him to relinquish his high office.

Goodbye. His Excellency the Viceroy and Lady Minto's departure from Calcutta for Simla, in March was marked by many manifestations of regret, and the dense crowds which assembled to pay respect to them on their journey to the railway station was one of the outward signs of the esteem in which they are held in the Capital of India. Opinions differ on the policy which has characterized Lord Minto's administration of this country, but it is too early yet to pronounce a verdict, for at present we can but see through a glass darkly. In later years, perhaps, we may be able to appreciate the patience, the calmness

and the level-headedness of a Viceroy who arrived in India at a critical moment in its history and to whose grip of the situation is due the fact that the situation did not degenerate into a hopeless one ; and there is some consolation to be drawn from the fact that the political atmosphere is calmer now than it has been for some time past. It is to be hoped that His Excellency's departure from the land for which he has done so much will be made under an unclouded political sky.

One of the dominant events of the Quarter was
the arrival on Indian soil of the Dalai
The Dalai Lama. Lama, the Spiritual Ruler of Tibet.

This visit breaks the spell which was attached to the mysterious "Roof of the World." Quaint ideas have been formed of everything connected with Tibet, and though the Younghusband Expedition and explorations of that intrepid traveller Sven Hedin have done much to clear away many erroneous ideas heretofore held regarding the land of the Lamas nothing so effectually dissipated the mists of mystery as the arrival of the Dalai Lama himself. His flight from Lhasa and subsequent entry into Darjeeling supplied much copy for graphic descriptions in the newspapers. The gorgeous robes of the Lamas, the silken attire of the Dalai himself, the obeisance of thousands of Buddhists as he entered the Sanitarium of Bengal were the theme of comment. Such a picturesque scene had perhaps never before been witnessed at Darjeeling, while the accessibility of the Dalai himself took everyone by surprise. Later in the quarter he paid a flying visit to Calcutta, exchanged official visits with His Excellency the Viceroy and was much impressed with the Capital of India, but he found the weather growing too oppressive for him and returned

somewhat suddenly to Darjeeling, where he remains pending negotiations with China for his restoration to power in Tibet. The British Government have made friendly representations to China on the Dalai Lama's behalf, but in the meanwhile the publication of the following decree at Peking shows that there are two sides to the question :—“ The Dalai Lama A-wang-lo-pu-tsang-tu-pu-tan-chia-cho-chi-chai-wang-chu-chio-le-lang-chieh has been indebted for the most cordial bounties and favours from the preceding Reign ; and as he must possess a conscience, how much should he have applied himself solely to his canons and tenets, and reverently conformed to former precepts, with a view to propagating the yellow religion. But since he assumed charge of the Treasury and secular government, he has been proud, extravagant, licentious, violent and refractory to a degree before unknown. He is further unruly and improper in action and takes upon himself to disobey our commands. He maltreats the Tibetan multitude and lightly provokes troubles.”

The Decree goes on to the recital of China's clemency and consideration when, two years ago, she received him, after his last flight and absence from Lhasa for about five years, heaped him with honours and reinstated him in his high office. The recent entry of the Szechuan troops into Tibet as explained is intended for the maintenance of order and should cause no misgivings to the Tibetans. The Decree proceeds :—

“ We were in receipt of a telegram from Lien Yu and others reporting that immediately on arrival of the Szechuan troops at Lhasa the Dalai, without reporting, left quietly on the night of the 12th February, for an unknown destination. We commanded the residents to try to bring him back and make proper arrangements

for his provision. No trace has been heard of him. As he is in charge of religious affairs, how could he thus depart repeatedly without authority? We further find that the Dalai is fickle, crafty, deceitful and alienates his allegiance. This is really an injustice to the bounties of the State and disappoints the hopes of the public. He is ill-fitted to be the leader of the Hut'ukhtu or Saints.

"A-wang-lo-pu-tsang-tu-tan-chia-cho-chi-chai-wang-chu-chio-le-lang-chieh is hereby commanded to be divested of his title of Dalai Lama in order to show penalty. Wherever he may escape and whether he returns to Tibet or otherwise, he shall be regarded henceforth not otherwise than as one of the common people."

"The Tibetan Residents are accordingly commanded 'to seek among children born with miraculous signs and draw their names by lot from the "golden urn" . . . The name drawn shall be created the real *kubil'han* (reincarnation) of the preceding Dalai Lamas and application shall be made to us for the bestowal of a proper title and favours, so that the propagation of the canons may be perpetuated and due importance may be attached to religious affairs.' "

In a period changing from winter into summer conditions sickness must naturally play a part. In the corresponding quarter of last year the City was visited by one of the severest epidemics of small-pox experienced for many years past in which the toll of life was a very heavy one. The Quarter under review has happily been a healthy one in comparison, though there have been the usual sporadic cases of small-pox, cholera and plague. An attempt has been made to deal more effectively with

The Weather.

the *busti* evil, but until we develop an Improvement Trust on the lines of the more advanced and modernized Western Capital we cannot expect any real improvement in the direction abovementioned. The construction of the overhead reservoir at Talla has made considerable progress and its accomplishment will be a potent factor in the improvement of the general health of Calcutta.

It will be remembered that sometime ago a remarkable discovery was made near Peshawar when four charred bones of the Gautama Buddha were found encased in a casket in a stupa. Historical records prove that the find was a real one, and much concern was manifested by Buddhists in different parts of the East as to where the relics—precious to the Buddhists—were eventually to repose. The Government of India, after much deliberation, decided that the fittest place for the reposal of the relics would be the ancient Buddhistic centre of Mandalay, and eventually a Deputation of influential Buddhists, together with His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor of Burma, came over to Calcutta from Rangoon, received the relics from the hands of the Viceroy himself and crossed over with them to Burma, where the relics were taken in triumphal progress “on the road to Mandalay.” It was hoped that the Dalai Lama would have been present when the relics were handed over to the Deputation and thereby invested the ceremony with additional interest but the exiled spiritual Ruler of Tibet, who is himself supposed to be the re-incarnation of Buddha, was unable to bear the enervating effects of a tropical climate, and had betaken himself with some suddenness to the more inviting surroundings of a cooler clime.

Art. II.—SOCIAL REFORM IN BENGAL.

HINDU society is, as it were, in a state of ferment. A fierce light is beating upon the dark places of Indian thought and action bearing down old customs and institutions without setting up new ones in their places. Change of thought and even of social institutions is the inevitable consequence of the change of social circumstances and environments. Thus the law of development works itself out in human society. The old order must change yielding place to new under the pressure of changing circumstances. A truly living and progressing society must take notice of the changing circumstances and utilize the force generated for adapting itself to new circumstances as best as it can. It is natural that circumstances must change and every living organism must adapt itself to new conditions on pain of utter annihilation. Only inert and dead bodies cannot respond to the call of Nature. Woe to the society which fails to utilize the living force which urges it forward on the path of progress.

But there is another side of the shield. Social institutions are not chance growths brought about by the arbitrary dictation of a set of selfish people brought together by mutual consent. They are the real ways through which the social integration and differentiation in the process of evolution are brought about. Some of them are bedrocks on which society stands. To grub up these bedrocks is to submerge the whole social structure into the abysmal sea. Consequently all social reforms should be carried out with great caution and with a full knowledge of the structure of the society.

Any untoward, unwise or incongruous measure carried on with a blind zeal is sure to injure the cause of social advancement against hundreds of healthy social reforms. Reformation is not reconstruction. In reforming a society one is not called upon to pull it down and to build up a new one without reference to the needs of the people, or to the circumstances of the country. All social growths and developments come from within and the special lines of social development have particular reference to and relationship with the mental, moral and spiritual constitution of the people. A careful study of the various social institutions of the different races and nations will convince one of this stubborn truth. Hence all works of social reform should be undertaken with the greatest circumspection. In the attempt to destroy the parasite, one should be careful not to uproot the main plant. Better let alone than take a hasty and fatal action. Want of reverence for social institutions and for the wisdom of those who came before us has always been a prolific source of social danger.

Like all organic developments social development is brought about by the joint action of two opposing forces, namely, the force of conservation and the force of progression. The two apparently opposing forces, by their joint action give shape and form to our social structure, with its varied social institutions just as the centripetal and the centrifugal forces determine the planetary orbit. The force of conservation tends to keep the thing as it is, while the force of progression conduces to lead it away from its present stage. So long as the force of progression continues to be predominant over the force of conservation, there are further development and progress. But as soon as the force of progression ceases, all further development is

stopped and society becomes inert like a dead mass. It shows that the force of construction which is the motive power of both the forces of progression and conservation has grown considerably weaker and that the force of destruction will ere long get the better of it. Thus, we find that the force of progression ceases just before the setting in of the stage of decay. The cessation of the force of progression betrays the utter weakness of the force of construction. Hence, an active force of progression is the *sine quâ non* for a living organism. Nevertheless the force of conservation should, on no account, be trifled with. It plays a very important part in the economy of Nature by keeping up the identity throughout the various gradations of development. There is an analogy between the developments of human body and human society. The one may be called on to illustrate the other. It is a well-known fact that the human body is subject to a process of constant destruction and reparation. Every tissue, every fibre is being wasted and repaired in the process of development. It has been calculated that a man of fifty does not retain in his body a single particle which he had in his twenty-fifth year. Still in the midst of such wholesale change, the man retains his individual identity. At fifty he is recognised as the very same man by one who knew him in his twenty-fifth year. He recalls many things he heard or saw twenty-five years ago, though it is an established fact that not a single particle of the matter constituting his brain is retained now. He is no doubt a changed man, but in the midst of the change he keeps up his individuality and is seldom confused with another man by one who knew him thoroughly. In the change he has undergone there is a causal connection between the past and the present.

There is nothing like the successive change of a kaleidoscope—a freakish, irrational and irresponsible change. The analogy of human society stands on all fours with the human body. Individual members composing the society are dying out day by day and their places are being filled up by new-comers, who are being ushered into the world. Thus a continual process of destruction and reparation is going on imperceptibly and in the course of a century the old elements are cast off and new ones are taken in. But in the process of the change, the identity of the society is not lost. There is no doubt a development or at least a change for the better or worse, but the past has a bearing upon and close connection with the present.

Like individuals, societies have their special characteristics. Like individual there are social traits and proclivities. Call these social traits or peculiarities racial or national traits or peculiarities or their outcome, it matters little. It has been observed that some societies are intensely spiritual while others are thoroughly worldly. Some are chivalrous, others are commercial. In short, national traits are often reflected upon the social structure. Just as it is damaging—nay positively injurious—to impart into a poetic child a thorough training in mathematics, so it is injurious to try to change a spiritual society into a worldly one. I wish to impress upon the reader that nations like individuals have their peculiar proclivities, tendencies, idiosyncrasies and manners of thought; it is foolish to ignore them and madness to run counter to them. The best endeavours of some of our ardent social reformers have been wrecked because they failed to grasp these plain facts. The lines of social reform should be devised with due regard to the spirit of the society—to the

social institutions grown hoary with age. The fact that some social rules and customs have been in existence since time immemorial goes a great way to prove that they have come into existence for the benefit of the society and to promote its welfare. At least, the presumption is in favour of these rules and customs and stubborn facts are required to prove the contrary. But the ultra-radicals of the reform party often put a spoke into the wheels of all healthy reforms by blindly denouncing all our social customs and institutions and trying to import bodily Western customs and institutions which seem to them perfect and free from all faults. They forget that often

“’Tis distance lends enchantment to the view,
And robes the mountain in its azure hue.”

On the other hand, the orthodox party forgets one plain fact : society is as much liable to be diseased as the human body. The baneful social customs and institutions which spring up in its degenerate days are by no means healthy or worth retaining. Like human diseases social diseases may grow chronic and may extend over hundreds of years. Most of the customs and institutions, which pullulate when society is in a diseased condition, are likely to be baneful. The best course which the true social reformer should take is to understand the spirit of the society and to make a systematic, thorough and sympathetic investigation of the rise and growth of our social customs and institutions. This is not an easy task. The path of the social reformer is not strewn with roses. But there is another evil to be guarded against. The majority of our present day reformers are imbued with Western notions, and for the matter of that, are prone to look upon our society through the coloured spectacles of Western prejudices and

superstitions. Consequently the ultra-radical social reformers denounce all our social customs and institutions in scathing terms and thereby court the strong hostility of the orthodox section of the community. These muddy-brained reformers forget that they can achieve very little if they run counter to public opinion. Buckle in his *History of Civilization* says :—

“No reform can produce real good unless it is the work of public opinion and unless the people themselves take the initiative.”

In another place the same writer says :—

“As soon as you have convinced men that superstition is mischievous, you may with advantage take active steps against those classes who promote superstition and live by it. But however pernicious any interest or any great body may be, beware of using force against it, unless the progress of the knowledge has previously sapped it at its base and loosened its hold over the national mind. This has always been the error of the most ardent reformers, who in their earnestness to effect their purpose, let the political movement outstrip the intellectual one, and thus inverting the natural order, secure misery either to themselves or to their descendants. They touch the altar and fire springs forth to consume them. Then comes another period of superstition and of despotism ; another dark period in the annals of human race. And this happens merely because men will not bide their time, but will insist on precipitating the march of affairs. Thus for instance, in France and Germany, it is the friends of freedom who have strengthened tyranny ; it is the enemies of superstition who have made superstition more permanent.”

What holds good in political, holds good with perhaps greater force in social movements and woe betide the society in which the earnest endeavours of the social reformers take a wrong direction.

Now let us come down from the abstract to the concrete. Remarriage of widows, abolition of the caste

system, sojourn in foreign countries are the main items of business taken up by our reformers. They have egregiously failed to achieve anything under the first two heads, while in the case of the third their efforts have been partially crowned with success. And why? The needs and changing circumstances of the society urgently demand it, public opinion has been formed in favour of it, hence the proposed reform is being widely accepted in Calcutta and some other parts of Bengal. Here at least our reformers are on the Pisgah from which they may have a bird's-eye view of the promised land. But as regards the other two, especially the first, they are still wandering in the wilderness, led astray by the fatal *fata morgana*. The reason is not far to seek. The prohibition to sojourn in foreign countries is of recent growth. It has no sanction in the *shastras*. Even Parashar, the lawgiver of *Kaliyuga*, has nowhere laid down an injunction against sojourn in foreign countries. Capital is made out of a text of the *Adipurana* समुद्रयात्रा लोकारः etc. which does not mean a sea-voyage, but a kind of व्रत or religious rite. Several commentators have agreed in accepting this meaning. But as regards the first two items of social reform, especially the first, the opinion against them is deeply rooted in the feelings, sentiments and customs of the people and the opinions of the *shastras* are partly against the first and unanimously against the second. The caste system has the sanction of the *shastras*; it has grown with the growth of the society and degenerated with its degeneration. A spirit of clannishness and narrow-mindedness has taken the place of the broad catholicity of the ancient Hindus. The evils should be purged off

the body of our society, but the institution should be preserved. It is one of the principal buttresses of the Hindu society. But this I shall take hereafter. Let us first take up the question of widow-remarriage, which, at the present moment, is agitating society in Bengal.

A careful study of the marriage system of the Hindus is sure to convince one of the fact that it has undergone great change with the change of social circumstances and environments. The twenty *Sanhitas* which came one after another prove the fact that social laws have been changed according to the exigencies of social circumstances. But never was the social status of a re-married widow wife made equal to that of a wife married once only. The son of the former occupied a very inferior position compared with the son of the latter, who was ever recognised as the *Dharmapatni* or religious wife. The son of a re-married widow-wife was called *paunarbhava* son and his claim to the ancestral property was always regarded as far inferior to that of a *ouras* son. Bashistha awards fourth place to the *paunarbhava* son in the list of the claimants of the ancestral property, so does Bishnu. But Yajñabalka assigns him the sixth place, that is, inferior to that of the *kanin* son, a son born of an unmarried daughter. Manu, the most ancient lawgiver of the Hindus, lays down that the Bramhin who marries a widow should not be allowed to eat along with his caste people on ceremonial occasions. Thus we find that among the Hindus the sentiment against widow re-marriage has been very strong since time immemorial. It appears that Parashara, the law-giver of the *Kaliyuga*, sanctioned the re-marriage of widows and tried to raise their social status to that of a religiously married wife (*Dharmapatni*), but his efforts

in this direction failed. Widow-re-marriage among the *dwijatis* (twice born castes) was placed strictly under a social ban throughout India by latter day *savants*. The *Adipurana* records that widow-remarriage was interdicted along with several other social customs at the beginning of the *Kaliyuga* by *savants* for the welfare of mankind. From this it may be conjectured that the raising of the status of remarried widows must have produced some social commotion which led the then learned and farsighted leaders of the Hindu society to assemble in a solemn conclave and prohibit widow-remarriage on pain of social excommunication.

It is evident that in bygone ages, the re-marriage of widows had the sanction of social laws, though re-married widows had a much inferior position in society and that popular sentiment against re-married widows was very strong. Parashar tried to change the popular sentiment and to raise the position of re-married widows, but it produced some social evil. What the evil or evils were, it is impossible to determine now in the absence of any definite account. Now the question of widow-remarriage has again been brought to the front by a section of the Hindu public. The whole question should be solved with special regard for the circumstances of the country. It is clear that even now the popular sentiment against widow-remarriage is as keen as ever. In many cases the glib advocate of widow-re-marriage flies into a mad rage if any proposal is made for the re-marriage of his young widowed sister or girl step-mother. This shows how lip-deep is his advocacy and how futile are his arguments. Even among the Bangalee Brahmos, who scarcely number more than

three thousand, all told, and amongst whom the number of males far exceed the number of females (being 1,949 males and 1,322 females), the widows very rarely re-marry. There are only 65 widowers but 111 widows among the Bengal Brahmos—a fact which speaks volumes in favour of the strong sentiments against widow-re-marriage even among the reforming classes. But our Brahmo brethren are finding it very difficult to marry their virgin daughters. The number of grown up maids among them is increasing as years roll by. I have heard from some of my Brahmo friends that the marriage problem has taken a very serious turn among them. As regards Christians, it is also evident that their widows do not re-marry as eagerly as the widowers. The male population of the Bengal Christians is greatly in excess of the female, there being 143,071 male members against 135,297 female members among them. Though the female members are numerically smaller, the number of widows among them is nearly four times as much as that of the widowers. Among these two communities, the number of old maids willing to marry is proportionately much larger than is the number of young widows amongst the Hindus whose hearts really yearn for being led to the hymeneal altar for a second time. Now the orthodox Hindu community asks in all seriousness, if the daughters of these two communities be not led astray for being condemned to celibacy, why should Hindu widows trespass into the path of vice if they are not allowed to re-marry after the death of their husbands? Moreover the members of these two communities are not indogamous. They observe no caste rules. They have ample scope for selecting suitable bridegrooms for their daughters. Still the number of

unmarried girls among them is awfully on the increase. How much more will be the difficulty of the Hindus, who are strictly indogamous, to procure suitable bridegrooms for their daughters, if widow-re-marriage is introduced among them? It is to be remembered that it is only amongst the Hindus that the number of females exceeds that of the males. Out of a total population of 49,687,632 Hindus in Bengal there are 24,781,038 males and 24,906,324 females all told; that is there are *one lakh and twenty-five thousand* more females than males among the Hindus residing in Bengal. If we deduct the immigrant population, two-thirds of whom do not bring their women with them, we find that the number of female population is much more numerous than the male among the native Hindus of Bengal. Every father of a daughter in Bengal knows how difficult it is to procure a bridegroom for his daughter and everyone is convinced of the fact that the number of marriageable girls among some higher castes of Bengal proper is greatly in excess of the number of marriageable boys. Unfortunately the Census Report does not help us in any way in this matter. A very large percentage of the immigrants to Bengal belong to the Brahmin and Rajput castes, who come here chiefly as priests, constables, jail-warders, zemindars' peons and the like. Very seldom they bring their women with them. They swell the figures of the higher caste males as is to be found in the Census Report. It is to be noted that in undivided Bengal there were 1,153,688 male and 1,202,768 female members among the Brahmins enumerated in 1901. But the number of unmarried Brahmin males was greatly in excess of the unmarried girls evidently owing to the influx of the unmarried immigrants from other provinces who came to this province as

sanyasis, and as constables, durwans, peons, clerks, etc., with a view to scrape together a decent sum to enable them to marry in their native provinces on their return. If these floating bachelors are taken away from the number of unmarried males, it will be seen that the actual marriageable male members fall far short of the marriageable female members. A glance at the proportion of the infants born, "according to sex" will convince one of the fact that the female element preponderates over the male. The Census Report says :—

"During the eight years 1892-1900, on an average 1,065 male births were reported to every 1,000 female, while the Census shows that of the persons enumerated at the age 0—5 there are 1,073 females to 1,000 males compared with only 1,007 in England."

It is a well-known fact in Bengal Proper that the mortality among the boys is far greater than among the girls. Among the higher castes, the rate of female births appears to be in excess of the rate of male births in certain districts. On the contrary, it may be pointed out that girls between 10 and 15 are greatly in defect compared with the other sex. This is due to various causes, *viz.*, the influx of boy servants from other provinces, the understatement of the ages of boys by the ignorant classes, misstatement of the age of girls before and after marriage, and errors arising from the difficulty of enumerating the young females in *pardanashin* families. Practical experience has convinced the *ghataks* (or professional matchmakers) that among the higher castes, marriageable girls are largely in excess of marriageable boys in several districts of Bengal Proper. It must also be remembered that a considerable number of males do not marry at all, while in the case of

females, marriage is considered compulsory and obligatory. Amongst the males nearly half the total number are unmarried, whilst amongst the females the figures of the unmarried are less than a third of the total population. This shows that the supply of girls in the marriage market is greatly in excess of that of young men. And how is this excess made up? The re-marriage of widows being strictly prohibited, every widower willing to marry is compelled to bestow his hand upon an unmarried girl. The supply of bridegrooms is thus artificially increased. Moreover, though polygamy has become scarce, it has not altogether disappeared. By these means every Hindu girl is given one chance to enter into married life, while many of her less fortunate sisters in the West get no such chance all through their lives. The introduction of widow re-marriage is sure to bring in its train a bevy of old maids pining for husbands. All over Europe, women in many cases never get a chance of marrying at all. The statistics of the marriage condition of the United Kingdom show that out of every hundred women there, 59·6 are spinsters, 32·8 wives and 7·6 are widows. It has been estimated that more than 15 per cent. of the female population there die as old maids. Amongst the Brahmos here, the number of old maids is on the increase. The evil is not less marked among the Eurasian community. If enforced maidenhood does not lead the women of other societies to the path of vice, we do not understand why enforced widowhood would tend to corrupt the Hindu widows. But the reformer, carried away partly by his blind zeal and partly by his ignorance of facts, exaggerates the evils of widowhood a hundredfold and thereby mars his own cause. Most of the Hindu widows, especially of

the higher castes, lead pious, holy and thoroughly religious lives. Like angels, they preside over the families in which they live and in which their influence is considerable. To traduce them as a class is to commit an unpardonable libel against virtuousness. It must be admitted that a few of these poor widows fall into pit-falls of vice and misery. But the case of a few should not be cited as a general rule. The writer has made a careful enquiry into the moral conditions of Bengali widows of the higher castes of different localities and has been thoroughly convinced of the healthiness of the moral atmosphere in which the Hindu widow lives. Only some 2 or 3 per cent. of the Hindu widows are led astray tempted by the Devil. So are some married women. If such isolated instances of incontinence be urged as a valid ground for abolishing the system of what is erroneously called "enforced widowhood," then it may as well be urged as a valid ground for abolishing the whole system of marriage. In America, Mona Caird and others have taken the same view and set their faces strongly against the marriage system. Unfortunately we have not become so highly "civilized" as to appreciate the value of their arguments.

Our reformers should take a calm and dispassionate view of the actual condition of the country and make a careful study of the growth and gradual development of social institutions, jointly and severally, before thinking of reforming them. Like all human institutions, social institutions are liable to degenerate and decay. When degenerate, they require reformation. The reformer should know thoroughly the uses as well as the abuses of a social institution, consider how it is correlated with other institutions and carefully study the

part it plays in the social economy before rushing to do anything with it. The stupid and hasty abolition of several healthy institutions has been a prolific source of social degradation. Look to Europe with a calm and dispassionate mind. In the middle ages, monasteries and convents sprang up where shelter was given to men and women who found no happiness in this woeful world. There they found solace and comfort from religion and religious training. The whole atmosphere was surcharged with spiritual calmness. The monks and nuns breathed the holy atmosphere and found their souls highly elevated. But alas! abuses crept even into that holy institution. The healthy influence of religion and morality was gone. Monks and nuns became addicted to vice and sensuality. Vice in its horrid nakedness appeared before the full blaze of public gaze. Thousands of chattering tongues raised their voices to abolish the monasteries. Few paused to think what particular part that institution had played in the social economy of Europe. Monasteries were abolished. Women who have since been doomed to celibacy by the pressure of social circumstances now find no safe asylum away from the sordid, sensual atmosphere of the world where they can be safe against the materialistic tendencies of the age and the weaknesses that flesh is heir to. From the very beginning of youth women of Europe are taught, not only to keep their amative instinct at its pristine strength, but also to stimulate it by thousand and one artificial means. Stories of love are dinned into their all-too-willing ears from every side. Trashy love-stories and works of fiction are voraciously read* and questionable

* We quote the words of Maupassant, the most masculine of modern French novelists :—“ Any one who looks at life through the medium of fifteen thousand novels, must see it in a funny sort of light—get quaint ideas about things.”

fashions of society inflame the amative instincts to the highest degree. It is universally admitted that hunger and lust are the most violent of all the appetites with average humanity. If so, how dangerous it is for society to allow the fair sex, who are naturally very impulsive and emotional, to foster the amative feelings without making it possible to satisfy them. All through Europe a vast army of unmarried women are seen, who in spite of their best endeavours have never got any chance of marrying. A European writer says :—

“For what does society do for the feelings it has thus trained up? Does it render satisfaction possible? Far from it; it makes marriage difficult and sordid and all other means odious and dangerous both to body and soul. Even one hundred years ago Kant could say that men were physically adult fifteen years before they were economically adult, *i.e.*, capable of supporting a household and since then the age of marriage has gone on becoming later and later. And women in many cases get no chance of marrying at all. On the effect such a condition of things must have upon morality, it is unnecessary to say anything except that it renders all preaching a ghastly and unavailing mockery; but from the point of human misery, the consequences of immorality form too great and growing a contribution to its sum total to be ignored by Pessimism” (*vide* “Riddles of the Sphinx,” page 119).

There can be no denying the fact that much of the social evil is due to the abolition of the convents where women received religious training and devoted their time in prayers and religious contemplation. Protestant reformers have committed a great blunder in abolishing a long-standing social institution, without setting up a new one in its stead, simply because it was being abused. All human institutions are liable to abuse and that is no reason why they should all be abolished. The institution of

continued widowhood is liable to be abused. The best way to keep it free from abuse is to impart a thorough religious training to our women. Feminine nature has its special virtues as well as special faults. The religious devotion of a woman is proverbial. And Tennyson aptly said to the man who seems to have reached "a purer air" after toil and storm :—

Leave thou thy sister when she prays
Her early Heaven, her happy views,
Nor thou with shadow'd hint confuse
A life that leads melodious days.

Nothing can deviate a woman from the path of virtue when once the religious feelings are kindled in her breast. Hence we find so many widows living angelic lives. We apprehend that the abolition of the time-honoured institution of widowhood will be a source of immense danger.

One of the favourite arguments advanced by the advocates of widow-remarriage nowadays is that the Hindus of Bengal are dying out as a nation simply because they do not remarry their widows. A careful examination of facts shows that this argument does not hold water. If only one-fifth of the women in a society contribute to the continuance of the race, the population can be fully maintained, the average fertility of marriage being five. It must be remembered that nearly one-fifth of the total number of females are widows, the majority being of the age of forty and upwards. Among the higher caste Hindus, who prohibit widow-remarriage, the proportion may be a little higher—say one-fourth of the entire female population. Of the females enumerated between the ages of 20 and 30, one in every nine is a widow. In the case of the higher caste Hindus, the proportion may

be one in every seven at the most. This cannot tell much upon the growth of population. The cause of the decay of the Bengali Hindus is to be sought elsewhere. It has been said that our Musalman brethren are fast increasing because they remarry their widows. The case of our Musalman brethren is different from ours. Their male population exceeds the female population by *two lakhs*. Polygamy is more in vogue among them than among the Hindus. Still among them more than one-sixth of the total female population are widows. Widow-remarriage cannot safely be introduced unless polygamy is introduced in our society on a large scale. This is impossible in these days of hard struggle for existence, consequently it is difficult to introduce widow-remarriage in our society.

It must be acknowledged that the case of infant-widows and some girl-widows requires the prompt attention of society. Theirs is a hard lot which melts even stones into tears. The Census Report reveals the revolting fact that there are some infants who have become widows before they have completed a single year of their existence.* Several become widows before completing the fifth year of their existence. In these cases, marriage is a mockery and their enforced widowhood is a diabolical infliction, perpetrated by ignorance. The *Shastras* do not sanction such a mockery of marriage. The *Shastra* distinctly lays down that marriage constitutes the knowledge that, "he is my husband, she is my wife." It also forbids the father to marry a daughter who does not know how to honour and serve a husband and what are the injunctions of the *Shastras*. An infant of a few months

* Infant marriage is in vogue chiefly among the lower caste peoples of Behar and Orissa who re-marry their widows. Consequently the Census figures need not stagger us.

or years cannot have such a knowledge ; consequently such marriages cannot be regarded as valid.

It is a hopeful sign that the number of infant and girl widows have gradually been decreasing since 1881, owing to the general rise of the marriageable age. The best method of removing the hard lot of child-widows is to try to raise the minimum marriageable age to ten or twelve in the case of girls. Here we have the precedence of the *Kulin Brahmins* and the dictation of the *Shastras* in our favour. If our reformers direct their attention to this direction, they can easily achieve success.

SASIBHUSHAN MUKHERJI.

Art. III.—NIGHT IN THE ANIMAL WORLD.

IN the 104th Psalm we find this ascription of praise to the Creator :—"Thou makest darkness, and it is night : wherein all the beasts of the forest do creep forth. The young lions roar after their prey, and seek their meat from God. The sun ariseth ; they gather themselves together, and lay them down in their dens. Man goeth forth unto his work and to his labour until the evening."

These words lift the veil of night. When darkness falls and man retires within his dwelling, though all creation appears to be hushed, in reality a populous world comes into being, and continues in active energy, enjoying itself to the full, till the approach of dawn, when it in turn withdraws, and the world of yesterday, the world with which man is familiar, gets again into operation.

The general impression is that the creatures which move about at night are few and ghost-like, with very little to do, and that night is what it appears to the night-blind, a period of stillness and repose. Poets, who thrive by sacrificing truth to sentiment, simply revel in this idea and teach us that "Night, sable goddess, stretches forth her leaden sceptre o'er a slumbering world."

A similar error prevails with reference to the ocean, the popular idea of which is taken from its smooth and trackless surface. The spirit of poetry would dry up if poets could not sing of the lone sea and the waste waters. In truth, however, the sea is a watery world of life. From under the surface down to depths where the lead will not sink, it is filled with living

creatures of all sizes, all colours, all characters, toiling and resting, raging and sporting, chasing and fleeing, killing and eating, each according to its kind, fierce, vicious, jealous, gentle, timid. Huge whales, monarchs of the watery realm ; ferocious sharks, prowling in every direction ; millions of herrings moving along like masses of solid life ; and all imaginable kinds of fish, shell-fish, and insects, some traversing the deep like birds of the air, some swarming on the bottom like flocks and herds, some finding a forest in the sea-weed, and some with " no place like home " among the rocks and caves and shallows.

If a man chanced to be born with eyes to see in the dark, he would be aware in the dead of night of a scene of animation that few of us have much conception of. He would see that a countless number and marvelous variety of four-footed beasts and birds and creeping things had come out of hiding-places and taken the place of those which retired at nightfall, and that they were as busy and as happy as the others had been in the day. But not having eyes to see in the dark, we are largely dependent on our ears for an idea of what is going on when most people suppose the world to be wrapped in slumber. Even in a town, a place of streets and houses, strange calls reach our ears in the later hours of the evening, in the black depth of midnight, or when the coming dawn makes a grey tint in the east. A flock of geese may be flying overhead, or a company of night-herons be winging their way from one feeding place to another. They call or cackle as they fly, for the whole country is spread out to their view and they know where they are going and have plenty to say. A coarse squeak reminds us that our inseparable guests the rats are quarrelling about the privilege of doing us all

the mischief they can ; while a series of sharper squeaks announces that the filthy but well-meaning muskrat is ridding us of cockroaches and other small vermin.

Different squeaks, in the air, overhead, tell of the bats that have supplanted the swallows and perching birds. For some reason unknown, birds of the night are all of the larger sizes : the very smallest is "the wakeful nightingale" of northern lands, which attracts attention because it is an exception to the rule. But the place of little birds is taken by bats, of which there are seventy or eighty kinds in India. It is not exaggeration to say that there are thousands of these abroad at night, pursuing their insect prey with tireless activity. Where they find holes, crevices, and corners enough to hide in during the day is a mystery ; for they do hide themselves effectually, and leave most people in total ignorance of the beautiful fur and bright colours which many of them wear—jet black, pure white, rich brown, and canary yellow, with intermediate shades of grey, fawn, cinnamon, chesnut, and orange.

Bats seem always to suggest owls ; so we may note that the English white owl, or barn owl, inhabits the cities of India, making its dwelling and its nest in church-steeple and in the tops of temples, mosques, and high buildings. It is a great devourer of rats, and in January, when it has to hunt rats for three or four hungry young ones, its husky screech catches the ear of the least observant persons. On account of this noise, the name of "screech owl" is often given to it in England. If there be a wood or lofty rocks reasonably near the city, a great horned owl will sometimes come in the middle of the night and take its perch on the roof of a house, and for half an hour

at a time will send forth dismal, unearthly, far-sounding groans. This performance gives the owl supreme pleasure, but it terrifies superstitious people and puts the philosophy of the wise to a test. This owl is the most superb of all birds. The golden eagle is as powerful and majestic, but its senseless ferocity makes it far from attractive. Any owl is one of the most intelligent of the feathered tribe, a real thinker, and the species they knew best was, by the ancient Greeks, shrewdly assigned to Minerva.

Not the least remarkable of the creatures which assure us that the world is not asleep at night is the domestic cat. This animal attracts a party of rivals and opponents in the darkness, and they get in front of an open window and abuse one another with increasing fury till the maddened inmates of the house can stand it no longer. And with cats we must not overlook the faithful watchdogs, loud of voice and strong of lung, which make up for the negligence of the slumbering *chowkeedar*.

But let us leave the town and occupy a bungalow or pitch a tent beyond its limits, where there are compounds, gardens, plantations, fields, and perhaps some jungle. As soon as night falls we find ourselves in a most animated neighbourhood. Having thought last of dogs, let us listen first to their country cousins, the jackals. How they howl, understanding perfectly what each says! Are they trying to sing? Or reciting the deeds of former heroes? Or urging one another to great enterprizes? Or challenging the ghosts of darkness? Why do they howl, splitting the air with pibroch and slogan? Surely India would not be India, nor night be night, without jackals. But no poet has yet risen to strike his harp and sing the true significance of

the jackal's weird and wild speech that fills the welkin, out of harmony with every other sound, but in wondrous harmony with the darkness and the starry sky, or with the moon and its silver light. Language has been found for the waves of the sea, the fall of the rain, the rustling of the trees, and for every voice of the wind ; but when the jackal gives forth its plaint, it calls and sighs and pleads and wails in a tongue that is unknown.

Yet, when the jackal does not howl, it is very much of the earth and delightfully attached to its family. Get behind a window on a moonlight night, and when it thinks no one is looking you will see it lead out its cubs from an unsuspected den, and they will romp and play on the sward like a litter of puppies. It will bring them a bone from some refuse, or steal them a 12-annas chicken, and they will have a lively feast while men dream that the world is sleeping.

If there be wolves in that part of the country, they will scour the plain beyond, proverbially hungry, but actually fat and strong ; and as night advances they will enter the compound and approach the bungalow in search of some neglected goat or sheep. They roam in silence, for Indian wolves do not howl like the wolves of Europe. More generally distributed than wolves, and more familiar in frequenting the haunts of men, are hyænas ; but though they shun the day, they make their presence known at night by the strange, hacking laugh, which, once heard, can never be forgotten.

This is perhaps a good place to say a word about the larger beasts of prey. Everybody remembers that these do disturb the night ; but they are commonly ranked with goblins, and are not considered to animate creation as creatures of the day do. It is difficult for us to realize that before the invention of firearms lions

and tigers and bears were common everywhere. The tight little island of Great Britain, in the time of the Plantagenet kings, contained numerous bears, wolves and wild boars. The bears and boars were first exterminated ; but the last wolf was killed in the eighteenth century, and the date is given in books. Of lions there are now very few anywhere except in Africa, and they are being rapidly destroyed in that country. But at one time they were plentiful in the whole region from Asia Minor to Western Bengal. The Bible is not a large book, and does not deal with natural history : yet it contains more than a dozen references to bears and not fewer than a hundred references to lions, proving how much these dangerous beasts were in people's minds. It is a fact of history that one of the Roman Emperors collected six hundred live lions at an exhibition in the amphitheatre. Naturalists and travellers of Buffon's time wrote of the Bengal lion as freely as of the Bengal tiger ; and a lion was killed near Allahabad only about fifty years ago. At the time of the Mutiny the Oudh Talooqdars had strong forts, which were surrounded by dense jungle in which tigers and bears abounded. Not many years ago a tiger was run over and killed by a railway train near Serampore, while this very year, 1910, a tiger has been marauding not much farther from Calcutta. And up to sixty years ago, despite the slow and dangerous shooting with smoothbores, ramrods, and percussion caps, not a few sportsmen could boast of having killed one hundred tigers, whereas now to have killed ten makes a man a Nimrod. Tigers are now common in India only in the Nepal tarai, the Assam hills, the Soonderbuns and parts of the Central Provinces. But bears are common in many places, and leopards are more than

common, they are familiar, wherever they can find shelter ; and they increase quickly if they be let alone.

A few years ago I was told an amusing story which well illustrated this. A certain large and historic city lies in one of the most densely populated parts of India. It is one of the last places where one might expect to find dangerous wild beasts. However, some *shikarees* killed a leopard in the district and brought it to the Magistrate's court for a reward. They had kept the dead beast for a day or two ; so when it was carried through the station, all the residents in the bungalows became well aware of the fact. The Magistrate was a sensitive and fastidious gentleman, without the least enthusiasm about sport, and when he heard a noisy arrival in the compound and his delicate nostrils were assailed in a distressing manner, instead of paying the usual reward he fined the men for causing a nuisance. That damped the zeal of the *shikarees*, and leopards took advantage of the truce. There is at the edge of the civil station a high rock like a small mountain, with scrub jungle on its sides, and here the leopards came and multiplied, and every night carried off dogs and goats from the bazaar and *bustees*. People driving round that way in the evenings used to see leopards perched on the rocks above them. Meanwhile a new Magistrate, of sporting proclivities, had been appointed, and he organized leopard hunts, with the result that eight of the animals were killed in a short time. In a station on the Malabar Coast I knew four dogs to be carried off from Europeans' verandahs and gardens by leopards in a month ; and in a remote station of the Central Provinces I found people more afraid, for their children and dogs, of leopards after nightfall, than they were afraid of snakes for themselves.

But this is a digression : let us get back to our bungalow in the suburbs. What more goes on there at night? Commoner than the hyæna's laugh is the bark of the little fox, a short, metallic, clucking bark, which tells that the smallest of the dog tribe is abroad, fresh and active, on the quest of rats and mice, larks and quails, frogs and lizards. He is also a vegetarian, and when we quote the famous apophthem, "sour grapes," let us remember that he spoke those words at night.

The only other beast of the plain which makes much noise while we are in bed is the porcupine, and anybody who has been alarmed by its fearful grunting and snorting can understand the significance of its name, "the spiny pig." Though not equal in size to the giant rodents of South America, the porcupine is a Goliath among Indian rodents, and does ruinous damage among vegetables in a single night. There are plenty of them, and they alone are enough to make day of night as they move over the ground in the manner of rabbits, digging and nibbling to satisfy their hunger.

Need I describe the familiar little mongoose, so common in Upper India, but not found in the West and the South? That is the solitary day representative of about a dozen long, lithe, short-legged animals, all larger than itself, which spend the night as eager for prey as the foxes, but far more ingenious in hunting for it. These are the civet cats, the toddy cats, the martens, the badger, and the large mongoose. All of these except the last two are expert climbers, and if they cannot get into our fowl-house by a hole at the bottom of the door, will look for a hole at the top. They are all silent, and most of them are confirmed skulkers. The civets especially will creep about within a few feet of where people are sitting conversing, and so keep in the

shade that not a gleam of moonlight or lamp-light betrays their presence. And how they scamper off when an unexpected movement startles them! If the sun would suddenly show itself in the middle of the night, we should exclaim, "What and whence are all these, some in the trees and some on the ground, poking their noses into every hole, searching with the sharpest of eyes for a nest of eggs, or a sleeping bird, or an unwary rat; making havoc in the pigeon-cote, and snapping up frogs and lizards, and slugs and snails, and beetles and grasshoppers? I thought everything was asleep."

Where these animals live, there is generally the common wild cat, a very fierce creature, a match for several domestic cats, and dangerous even for a man to corner or to wound. And there are also several less known species of wild cats, small in size, but one at least very beautiful. All these cats have kittens, and besides adding to the multitude of night prowlers, they lie down when their hunger is satisfied and watch their kittens at play. I have twice come on such a family of wild kittens disporting themselves as tame kittens love to do.

The kind of country we are still in, that is, the vicinity of fields and dwellings, is the happy hunting ground of snakes, and few persons are ready to believe what an immense number of these the land contains. It is well known that the six or seven most poisonous species destroy about 20,000 human beings every year, besides a vast number of cattle; and the numbers might be twenty times greater were it not for the quickness with which snakes get out of the way when they are disturbed. Surgeon-Major Shortt, in his day a noted authority on Indian snakes, said he had no doubt that Bangalore and the open country for two miles round it, could yield, I am afraid to repeat

how many cobras a week. Apart from venomous species, there are in India, without Burma and Ceylon, more than one hundred harmless kinds, and their number is legion. Some live almost entirely in the trees, and others on the ground. The whole of this multitude have to find their food, and they spend the night in gliding about noiselessly in search of it. One of the sounds of the night is the crying of an unfortunate frog, or an unhappy bird, which a snake has seized and is very slowly passing down into its throat. But a snake is not the only enemy that slowly does frogs to death. I remember, one evening in Bombay, hearing the unmistakable wailing of a frog, so different from its exultant or riotous croak ; but when I ran out with a lantern and a stick to kill the snake, I found it was a muskrat dragging off the struggling frog into a quiet corner to be eaten.

I have already mentioned the muskrat. As one can see from its form and habits, the muskrat is a shrew : it has nothing to do with the order of rodents, and could not gnaw a hole through pasteboard to save itself. There are many other kinds of shrew, which live out of doors : some of them are very small, much smaller than a mouse, with fine fur, and most delicately formed, quite the most exquisite of four-footed things. All these shrews, in the fields and gardens, live over again the life of the muskrat in our houses, and the squeak of the small kinds is easily mistaken for the chirp of a cricket.

We all know the large bat called a flying fox, and the screeching which half a dozen of them can make in one fruit tree. But when a string of several hundreds are seen flying overhead, follow them—it may be miles—to the orchard of guavas or custard-apples, and as they revel there, say no more that the animal world is

even comparatively quiet at night. Then there is another bat, grim, voiceless, and solitary, the vampire. It does not suck blood, as the South American vampire does ; but it devours flesh and bones of birds, frogs, lizards, small bats, and large insects. It is exceedingly common, but it affects particular localities, and is not easily found elsewhere. I have seen bungalows in which bunches of thorns were hung all round the verandah, under the roof, to keep away these bats.

Let us pause to reflect what enormous destruction of animal life all this means every night of the year, and what a scene of bustle and activity darkness covers round us in every direction. How many little birds retire to sleep at night, and never see the morning ! How many little mice venture forth in search of seeds, and are seized, torn, and devoured, under the dark sky ! And the depredation is as merciless in the insect world. It came to me like a revelation a good many years ago, in the Central Provinces, when, one night, I took a lantern into a small patch of rose bushes, to pick a flower. I found the plants alive with beetles, moths, caterpillars, grasshoppers, and strange flies, all which were feeding on the leaves and petals, while six or seven mantises were capturing and eating them. Some of the moths were of large size, and of kinds which do not come into the house. Several toads and lizards had gathered, to see what they could get, and a snake a foot and a half long was on one of the bushes on the same quest. A bird, either a small owl or a nightjar, was there, catching insects too, and flew away as I approached. The pleasant garden of the day had become a field of slaughter.

Who can think of night without remembering the ceaseless hum and buzz of innumerable crickets, during

the rains and after, and the loud "katy-did" of various grasshoppers of the genus so named in America? Night cannot be called quiet with this music going on on such a scale. Yet with it, and more clamorous, may be the croaking of water-frogs, and the "tinkle-tinkle toot-toot" of tree-frogs, which are alternately hunting and courting with indefatigable energy. Close at hand, from time to time "a beetle wheels his droning flight." Gray wrote "*the* beetle," but in this populous country it is a different beetle every time, and sometimes a giant as large as three or four of the poet's beetles put together. Farther off, with methodical regularity, a nightjar, or goatsucker, repeats its "rat-a-tat-tat," in a tone which cannot be imitated. For many hours of the night that uncouth bird and its mate pursue their avocation, somewhat after the manner of the roller or "blue-jay," looking all round and feeling perfectly at home.

Over and above all these intimations of stirring life, the listener by night hears a number of notes and cries and shrieks for which, in all probability, he is unable to account. Superstitious people put them down to distressed spirits and malignant demons. But they are mostly the calls of different kinds of owls, of which there are many in India. Owls are noisy birds, although popular belief says not. And there is astonishing variety in the notes of different species. The screech owl and the great horned owl have been mentioned. The little chattering owl needs no mention, as frolicsome by day as by night, or by night as by day. Other sorts, large and small, are found outside of towns and cities, and have all one character, ineffable dignity, business-like attention to family duties, and fearless courage. When I was in America a few years ago, in a Western State, an owl not larger

than a pigeon tore out the eye of a gentleman who incautiously went near its nest after the young were hatched. One common species has a claim on our gratitude ; for it is the only foe except man that the iniquitous crow fears. This owl (*ketupa* in science) dashes through the close twigs and leaves of a tree where a number of crows have gone to rest, and when the startled rascals take wing, cawing in their blindness, wheels, and with another plunge, seizes one of them in its talons and bears it away to be torn to pieces as the crow itself has torn many a little fledgling in its day. Owls give cries when they are on the search for their food, and when they have finished their meal they take their perch somewhere, and according to their ability emulate the coppersmith, the turtledove, or the nightingale. Some hoot, each in a tone of its own ; one pipes softly and pleasantly ; another moans, and another screams. And one gives out yells in a voice so awful that it seems to be a very fiend in disguise, haunting a grove which men fear to approach after dark. And who that has been in the Himalayas has not heard the flute-like double note of the smallest of all owls, calling to the sleeper that it is awake ? A choice little bird, finding cheer on the hillside, cheer in the cold, and cheer in the dark, and then flitting off to take a cricket to its young ones.

Two terrific sounds remain, which truly turn night into day. One is the call of the *koel* or black cuckoo, working off the balance of the screams which its heroic efforts from dawn to dusk have failed to finish. The other comes from the unsleeping cultivator, who sits on a platform in the centre of his fields, with a sling in his hand out of which he discharges stones at the wild pigs, jackals, porcupines, deer, and other depredators of his

crops, accompanying the artillery with demoniac execrations that have no parallel in human speech. When I was a boy we learned spelling out of "Aunt Mavor's Spelling Book," in which there was a lesson like this:—"The lion roars, the wolf howls, the horse neighs, the dog barks, the cat purrs, the kitten mews, the eagle screams, the cock crows, the dove coos, the sparrow chirps," and so on through a pretty long list; but no word can be found for the sounds which the *machanwala* produces.

Let us now pass into the dark, deep forest, "where things that own not man's dominion dwell." Night there is no more a time of sleep and silence than it is in the cultivated country we have left. Active business goes on all through the darkness. The trees are great and tall, but strange creatures sport in their branches and search everywhere for food. On the trunks grisly lizards utter startling sounds, and large nightjars, peculiar to the forest, flap up and down in the moonlight with loud "churrs." Here may be heard the "bell" of the *sambhur* stag and the alarm of the barking deer, both sure to smite with awe campers who have not heard them before. Next to wild pig *sambhurs* are, in the vicinity of forests, the most destructive of all animals to the cultivators' crops, and it is at night they chiefly go forth to feed.

One does not think of squirrels being abroad by night; yet it is a curious fact that the flying squirrels, large and small, lie in concealment till darkness has fully set in, and then spend the same happy, active lives that their wingless cousins do by day. The largest owls are also in the forest, very wide awake, sitting bolt upright, almost two feet high, and making the night resound with their extraordinary hooting; or else flying with a great expanse of muffled wings, to strike

some hare or game bird for their ravenous and clamorous brood carefully guarded in a hollow of a tree.

At night the insect-life in the forest is beyond computation, and till specimens are seen in a museum it is beyond belief. In variety of shape, size, and colour, they evoke wonder and praise to the almighty Creator. Huge glow-worms move like policemen on the ground, and equally large fireflies fly like beetles with lanterns among the trees. A light placed on the grass is soon surrounded by an amazing collection, to feed on which frogs, lizards, monster spiders, and a snake will make their appearance. And all the time the air resounds with a hum and buzz and din which no crickets and long-horned grasshoppers of the plain can equal. If there be springs of water about, or a little stream, a multitude of frogs and tree-frogs, as bewildering as the swarm of insects, give themselves up to a night of revelry with a hundred dulcimers all playing at once. Where they come from is a mystery ; for if the bushes and grass be well beaten by day, only a small number of frogs are dislodged. If a snake glide in among them, they leap like fish in the water and crickets out of the water ; but in a couple of minutes the chorus is in full blast again. What Edgar Allan Poe calls tintinnabulation, the tootle tootle tinkle tinkle, the flutes and silver bells, all going together, with croaks and shrill pipes marking time, makes one ask whether Shelley's skylark knew half the gladness of these little plain, speckled batrachians. To think, too, that they find night better than day for enjoying themselves ; the cool air instead of the fierce heat, moonlight and starlight instead of sunlight ! All along the hills from Bengal to Burma, in Assam and Munneepoor, this furious melody and boundless merriment may be realized—during the hours when, the poets tell us,

utter darkness has closed its wing and solemn silence reigns.

The python has its home in the forest, and night, more than day, is the time when it moves its lumbering bulk about, keen to swallow a jackal whole as its little descendants swallow a rat. This mammoth is the sole living reminder of a by-gone world where generations of colossal reptiles possessed the earth and left their bones for us to gaze at in wonder. It is a mighty mass of flesh, twenty feet long, and of enormous girth, with no link to connect it with common snakes. As dumb as a log, as sluggish as a snail, as stealthy as a fox, and as terrible as a tiger, without members except a head and a tail, this vast monster roams the swamp and the forest, "more subtle than any beast of the field which the Lord God has made." It moves in the blackness of night ; it appears in unexpected places ; it sees everything, but gives no sign. I can name not another living thing that invites contemplation like a python ; and danger need not be apprehended if one stand out of its reach. In this respect it is like Satan.

There remains to be considered night at the water's edge. Nowhere is the animal world more awake and active by night than on the seashore, along the river's bank, round the edges of lakes and ponds, and in the midst of *jheels* and rice-fields. I have mentioned the mysterious cries one hears in the darkness, loud and various, and so difficult to trace and account for. Many of these that are not the cries of owls are made by certain water birds, which live in a world of their own and have no acquaintance with the affairs of day or the birds of day. Because these cries are so sudden and so wild, fishermen are affected by them and attribute them also to spirits, thus increasing their own awe

of the night instead of learning that night is as day, a time when numberless beasts and birds and creeping things take their fill of the joys of life. The screams of the curlew and the whimbrel sound plaintively across the water, and the metallic clang of the *sarus* crane is very effective. So is the boom of the bittern, where that strange bird is about. To these a disturbed lapwing adds its vociferous "Did he do it? Yes, he did it." The night-heron calls "Wāk, wāk," which has therefore become its Hindoostanee name. At measured intervals the rail or crake, in an adjoining field, utters its voice like a great quill rubbed across the teeth of a huge comb; and the little, white-breasted water-hen bellows like two or three bull frogs. A flock of ring-plovers articulate their joys, and many another wader, large or small, cries cheer in its own tongue. Observers who live near the water soon come to know that many of the creatures named in previous parts of this paper make their way there, where food is easily found and crabs are as abundant as frogs. The large fish owl, a common bird, spends most of its time in an overhanging tree, shouting "Hoo-hoo-hoo;" and more than one kind of night-jar jar the night as they hawk moths and beetles; for moths are as active by night as butterflies by day, and there are twice as many of them. The great tusser silk moths, yellow, brown, or green, do not come into houses nor fly to the light; but they are abundant outside, as any one may infer from the quantity of their cocoons that are gathered. The gigantic waterbug, known in books as *belostoma*, does come to the light when it leaves the water, and flies round and round like a bat.

Water-snakes are very active at night, the large ones after fish and frogs and the small ones after insects.

They are constantly seen on the banks from boats which carry a light. But they are all non-venomous, and nobody minds them. Similarly water-tortoises, some of which are nearly two feet long, come out at night to lay their eggs in the sand. Most people in this country know to be cautious near water at night, for crocodiles are then as dangerous as tigers in the jungle. But the fact is not so well understood that these great brutes will go half a mile across land from one piece of water to another. This explains why a crocodile is sometimes found in a pool which has been imagined to be as safe as a bath tub. They have been actually encountered on these journeys ; but as they always drag large prey under water, to drown it, men and cattle are unmolested when water is not near.

There is a well-known bird called the Brahmani duck, which is really a goose, and it is called Brahmani because the Hindoos forbid it to be killed, averring that it is already under punishment. Wild geese are night fliers and night feeders, and in the cold season this bird, whose Hindoostanee name is *chuckwa* for the male and *chuckwee* for the female, is heard calling in four syllables on the bank of a river, and being answered from the opposite side. I suppose that there is a little flock of several of them on each bank, and that they call in turn. But the village people tell you that for some sin committed in a former birth, the bird is doomed to perpetual separation from its mate ; so the pair must stay on opposite banks, and while one calls "*Chuckwa, mai aun ?*" (may I come ?), the other answers, "*Nahin, nahin*, (No, no,) *Chuckwee*." And so in sorrow they spend their nights.

Day in the animal world, I think, has no such touching story.

BENJAMIN AITKEN.

Art. IV.—THE LETTERS OF A GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY, 1839-1841.*

(Concluded from page 79.)

91.—SIR WM. MCNAGHTEN, BART.

DAPOOREE, NEAR POONA, 29th July 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 30th, last month. I am obliged to you for the opinion of Sir Willoughby Cotton. There could not be a better officer than Sir T. Willshire to command if circumstances required that a man superior in rank to Brigadier Stevenson should be sent. This may possibly be necessary if the entire of the 40th Regiment from Karachee are called into the field.

We are now making every exertion to throw in re-inforcements to the force in Upper Sind in consequence of the serious insurrection in that quarter. Nothing but the obstacles of the Monsoon delays their departure, and though Mr. Ross Bell writes me that it is desirable that the troops should leave Bombay *at this time*, he is not aware of its impossibility. Early in September we shall send four battalions, namely, the 8th for Karachee and the 6th from Dessa, the 21st and 25th from Bombay to Upper Sind. If we can push on a wing from Cutch overland it shall be done, but I doubt its practicability after the heavy Monsoon which we have experienced. I am afraid that Captain Bean is in a precarious situation unless he can be assisted from Candahar. The union of Seikhs, who have always been in bitter hostility, shews that it will require vigorous measures to put them down, but to my mind it shews more that a well organized plan exists by some external agency,—that agency is the Lahore Government with which we must be no longer satisfied by professions.

It appears to me not possible, with safety to ourselves in Afghanistan, to admit of the Punjab being an independent state.

* The letter copy book in which these letters are entered was purchased by Mr. Firminger at a book sale by auction at Calcutta. The letters are copied neatly by a clerk, but one or two seem to be in Sir James' own hand.

LETTERS OF A GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY, 1839-41. 183

Now that the Russians have been so signally discomfited in their Khiva expedition, it is the time for grappling with the Seikhs whose military power has a reputation it does not deserve. But considering how much is on our hands, we can hardly carry on extensive operations with our present means. Some extra battalions should be raised for internal tranquillity and to set at liberty a large portion of our regular army for the field. A *corps d'armie* to watch the Nepaulese, with a sufficient force for our Eastern boundary, is all that is required in the lower part of the Bengal Presidency. A large proportion of the Madras Cavalry might be ordered up to your Upper Province, or take the place of ours—the force of that useful arm at Madras is far beyond its wants and should be brought into some active scenes. In a word, if we are to come to blows with the Seikhs it should be with an overwhelming force which would bring the Service to a speedy termination. I hope soon to hear from you what sort of ordnance and to what extent you require us to send you on the immediate opening of the season. The failure of the Russians must produce the best effect in Central Asia in our favour, and we ought to make the best use of the breathing time it affords us. I have no idea the Emperor will relinquish the enterprize. Pride and interest will combine to renew it at a favorable moment. I am very glad to find you have got so able a man as Major Rawlinson as your Political Agent at Candahar. I predict that he will give you every satisfaction.

Believe me, most sincerely yours,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

92.—THE RIGHT HON'BLE STEWART MACKENZIE,

etc., etc., etc.,

CEYLON.

DAPOOREE, 29th July 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,—Immediately on the receipt of your letter, I sent down orders to withdraw the correspondence about your application for the *Sesostris*, but unfortunately it had gone with the rest of our monthly correspondence to the

Secret Committee, and there is now no help for it. At the same time it appears to me a matter of no consequence.

I am indeed very happy to hear that your health has so much improved, and trust it will continue to do so until perfectly restored. It will not do to expose yourself in exploring jungles in which I apprehend you contracted the fever. We are here in a vast deal of bustle by preparing re-inforcements for Upper Sind directly the season opens—it is very desirable to get them there immediately if we could, but the Monsoon prevents us. The accounts of the countries between Sukhur and Candahar are far from pleasant and require a vigorous effort to put down insurrection. Affairs in Affghanistan continue to progress favorably. Dost Mahomed's family have come in, he being with two of his sons confined by the King of Bokhara, who evinces a most unfriendly disposition towards us. It is certain now that the Russian Expedition to Khiva has signally failed by the effects of disease. Contrasted with our success in Affghanistan this, and her former failure at Herat, will give the British a vast preponderance in Central Asia.

We are waiting with anxiety for accounts from China. A Bazaar report says, that Canton has been taken, but I suspect it is but the shadow of a coming event.

Believe me,
Yours most sincerely,
(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

93.—H. V. BAYLEY, ESQ.

DAPOOREE, 30th July 1840.

MY DEAR MR. BAYLEY,—I have now been some days in possession of your letter of the 3rd instant; the delay in answering it arose from a reference to Bombay to ascertain how far we could be of any assistance to you on the object on which you are employed.

The only way in which I am aware that you can be furnished with a memorandum of the Public Works of all kinds executed under the Bombay Government since 1830 is for the Supreme Government to call for such a document. In the meantime,

I will desire the Secretary in the General Department to prepare the materials for providing it, so that as little delay as possible shall occur when your application reaches us.

Under the second head, you require a political history of all the Native States under the Government, which would require more time and attention than we can at present bestow, with the numerous calls upon us, and with an establishment hardly sufficient for the current business. It may be observed that all matters of political importance are now reported to the Government of India, whose records, therefore, in most cases will contain the information required by you, where these may be deficient or where you may require any particular information, if you will put yourself in communication with me I shall be most happy to assist you. Your best plan, perhaps, would be to seek the information you want in the form of queries to be returned to you with the answers. By all means also communicate with my Private Secretary or with the Political Secretary, Mr. Willoughby,* both of whom you will find anxious to execute your wishes.

I have been much gratified by finding you so prominently employed in the early part of your public career. I sincerely wish you all the success you can desire, and there is no doubt that if your health is spared, the office you hold will lead both to distinction and preferment.

Our accounts from Lower Sind yesterday give a less alarming description of the insurrections in the Khelat Country, but it cannot but strike you as something remarkable, the union of tribes, which have hitherto been in implacable hostility. Our re-inforcements to Sind will proceed early in September, and will amount to nearly 4,000 rank and file, and they will relieve the corps, at present there, if circumstances warrant it.

I am very sorry to find there is any doubt of Lord Auckland's extended stay among us. We can hardly afford to lose him with so much on our hands. Though not surprised, I regret that Turton's † appointment has not been confirmed;

* Afterwards Sir John Pollard Willoughby, Bart., 3rd son of Sir Christopher W., 1st Baronet. Member of Council 1858-66. Born 1798, died 1866.

† Probably Sir Thomas Edward Turton, Bart. (1789-1854). Registrar of the Supreme Court, Calcutta.

he is unquestionably one of the ablest men of the Indian Bar, and would have been a good friend to us.

I hope now that we have commenced a correspondence you will find time occasionally to write to me.

Believing me, to be always,

Yours most sincerely,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

94.—LIEUTENANT-COLONEL SIR ALEXANDER BURNES, C.B.

DAPOOREE, 31st July 1840.

MY DEAR SIR ALEXANDER,—I have now to thank you for your acceptable letters of the 20th and 30th of last month. The news contained in the latter is most satisfactory. It confirms the intelligence which we had received from England, and the discomfiture of the Russian Expedition to Khiva will produce a wonderful effect in our favor throughout Central Asia. We should not, however, remit our exertions to set our house in order, but rather increase them, for I quite agree with you that the Emperor will make farther efforts at a favorable opportunity.

I hope we shall not relax in coming to a proper understanding with the Seikhs, to whom, I have no doubt, we are indebted for the late insurrections both of the Ghilgees and of the tribes in the Khelât Country. We are doing *our very best* to get up re-inforcements to Upper Sind, but cannot possibly do it before the 1st September, in the meanwhile I trust there may be no unpleasant occurrences from the weakness of General Stevenson's force. On my own responsibility I sent up, just before the rains, the recruits belonging to the corps under his command. The re-inforcements under orders are the 8th, 21st, and 25th Regiments from Bombay by steamers, and the 6th by land from Deesa to Hyderabad in Sind. Should the accounts continue unfavorable, I shall send some Cavalry with the latter Corps.

I was rejoiced to hear of the communication which Lord Auckland has made to you. When Sir William McNaghten takes his seat in the Supreme Council, you will of course be at the top of the tree in Affghanistan, which you have so wel

earned by your services. Sir John Hobhouse is fully alive to your merits, and has lately given you proof of it by making you C.B. and a Major in the Indian Army. I hope you got my letter conveying to you this satisfactory news immediately that it reached me. How admirably our steamers on the Indus are serving our purposes, and how fortunate it was that the Governor-General consented to have an European Regiment at Karachee. I want to see the steamers make their way as near to Attock as they can, the moral effect will be prodigious, as Dominic Sampson says, and will awe the people into obedience. I would have had more steamers on the river, could I have had my own way, and more I think there will yet be. I want but the order and the deed shall be done. They may be withdrawn after a good impression has been made on the country.

The Chinese by this time know something of British valour. The Admiral left Singapore the 18th of last month, having been preceded on the 1st by Commodore Sir J. Bremer.* Probably you may hear something from China where you are sooner than we can here.

Believe me, my dear Sir Alexander,

Very sincerely yours,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

95.—THE HON'BLE T. C. ROBERTSON,

etc., etc., etc.

AGRA.

DAPOOREE, *5th August* 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,—I had yesterday the pleasure to receive your letter of the 24th ultimo. It is an important question how we should deal with the Seiks in their present independent position. As you invite my opinion, I will give it with the utmost candour. It has been, for some time, quite evident to me that we shall be compelled to notice the conduct of the Lahore Durbar by demanding concessions, which shall give us free intercourse, through the Punjab with Affghanistan, or, in the event of hesitation or refusal, by declaring war. It

* Sir James Gordon Bremer (1786-1850). K. C. B., 1841.

cannot be tolerated that a state, professing friendly alliance, should interpose its authority to such communication with a kingdom situated beyond it, which every consideration of good faith and good policy requires us to support. I have great distrust of the Seiks, having no doubt in my own mind that the late disturbances and present insurrections are the work of its Feudatory Chiefs and officers ; and, though the Durbar itself is free in friendly professions, that it awaits but the favorable opportunity to throw off the disguise. It is, in fact, not the interest of the Seik Government to have a strong government established in Affghanistan. The state of revolutions and disorder which has prevailed in that country for the last 30 years may in a great degree be attributed to them and their dread of a powerful neighbour. The same policy governs them now, and we shall never have a settled state of things under Shah Soojah so long as the Seik continues in an independent position relatively with the British Government. It has been proved by Sir Willam McNaghten that their dependents have instigated the insurrection of the Ghilzee tribes ; and, though the result of our remonstrances to the Durbar was an apparent submission by recalling the feudatories implicated, it has been speedily followed by serious commotions in Khelat and by the union of different tribes in hostility against us, and amongst whom there never was a community of interest but, on the contrary, an implacable hatred. How could this have been produced so simultaneously but by some powerful external agency ? And where is the power to use it but the Seiks ? The name of the Governor of Mooltan is already used as the promoter of their proceedings. I have a strong suspicion that the Seiks reckon on the co-operation of the Nepaulese, for what cause can be assigned for the unfriendly feelings of that people ? There can be no better time for setting our house in order than the present. The Russians have retired, and India is tranquil—in case of our being driven to war, I think the means we have are sufficient to meet it, even in the absence of the China Expedition. I have had from early times an indifferent opinion of Seik courage or their elasticity in difficulties. One, or at most two pitched battles would throw them

into confusion, and we have now the advantage, which did not exist in Runjeet Sing's time, of elements of discord prevailing amongst the ruling authorities. As for the French officers, they will make terms for themselves, as they did in the war with the Mahrattas in 1803-4. Our force should be composed of a large proportion of European Infantry and Cavalry, as well as Horse Artillery. Something, I feel, must be done, or we shall soon have Affghanistan in a flame, which would render our insulated position there one of great embarrassment.

I am glad to hear you are about to order a battalion from Ferozepor to Sukhur, as it will arrive before our reinforcements can possibly reach Brigadier Stevenson. By the 1st of next month, or thereabouts, we shall have four strong battalions of Native Infantry *en route*, one of them being intended, unless urgently wanted, for Karachee, which should always be maintained by way of reserve. The steamers will be employed in taking up as many of the troops as they will contain. One of the Regiments, by the bye, is to go direct over-land from Deesa in Guzerat to Hyderabad in Sind. I have written to Mr. Ross Bell, and he has but to let me know his wishes, to ensure my best and most immediate attention. I quite concur with you that your appointment as Provisional Governor will produce the best effects in your present position. I hope your health equals the important labours committed to you.

I am, my dear Sir,
Very faithfully yours,
(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

96.—SIR W. MCNAGHTEN, BART.,
etc., etc., etc.

DAPOOREE, 19th August 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,—I had the pleasure, three days ago, to receive your interesting letters dated the 18th, 19th and 20th of last month with their enclosures. I am exceedingly obliged to you for these communications. I confess I was not surprised to hear of the perfidy of the Herat authorities; it fulfils my apprehensions, founded on the previous exposure of their treacherous correspondence with Persia; and there is

reason to fear that they will play the game of the King of Bokhara by detaining Major Todd and the rest of his party.

I presume that Lord Auckland will now see the necessity of adopting the measures which we pressed on him some months back. Our troops have begun to proceed to Sind by our steamers, and the whole of the reinforcements will be at Karachee (I mean that portion of them ordered from the Presidency) by the middle of September. I will see that they escort the 15 or 20 lacs of rupees, which you suggest should be sent in addition to the 20 lacs provided on Mr. Ross Bell's application ; besides funds for the ordinary disbursements of the troops until the end of the year.

I am not aware of the state of our negotiations with the Lahore Durbar, except that, in a letter of Lord Auckland's, he says, that in the event of hostilities, he thinks our operations should commence on their Southern provinces, but that he confidently reckons on receiving ample redress to our demands.

In the event of war with the Seikhs, I infer that his Lordship looks to the employment of the Bombay troops in Upper Sind on that service, in which case they would not be available for the reduction of Ilerat at present. You may probably have the means in Affghanistan to undertake the enterprize, leaving the Sind force to the country below the Bolan Pass, and otherwise to act as circumstances may require. We shall be able to pour in in October re-inforcements of all arms from Guzerat, either to Hyderabad or by way of Jesselmeer. The newspapers tell us that a large force is in preparation in Bengal, it is said, for an attack on the Nepaulese, but I have heard nothing of it from any authentic source.

No intelligence has yet reached us of Admiral Elliott, nor can I guess what effect our demonstration in China may have produced. Neither has our July mail yet made its appearance, though it may be looked for hourly.

I beg to enclose a copy of my private letter to Lord Auckland as connected with your late communications to me.

Believe me, my dear Sir,
Your most sincerely,
(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

Reports have been prevalent of the capture of Khelat by the son of the late Mehrab Khan, but a letter from Major Outram discredits them, dated the 3rd of this month.

97.—W. S. BOYD, ESQ.

DAPOOREE, 21st August 1840.

MY DEAR BOYD,—I presume this letter will find you duly installed in your important office, in the administration of which I sincerely wish you every success. Your immediate object will, I apprehend, have been to get the assent of Sevagee to our proposed reform of the Contingent of Horse, which should no longer be delayed, as he has already verbally assented to the arrangement.

You will have received or will shortly receive our resolutions regarding the Shastry's family. With respect to the delivery of the *Sannud*, I wish that the formalities suggested by the late Resident should be adhered to, and that every publicity be given to it in the manner proposed by Mr. Sutherland.

I hope you have found Sevagee as amicable as his professions would lead us to infer, but it is right to mention to you that reports are prevalent among some of the respectable natives of Bombay that he still keeps up communication with Veneeram at Calcutta; and they state, as an evidence of this, that he retains in his confidence his known associates and that no measures have been taken, as usual in cases of dismissal, to sequester his residence at Baroda, or indeed to meddle with any of his property in His Highness's jurisdiction. This, if any part of it is true, would shew that Sevagee is not sincere, and the discovery of his hypocrisy would, I apprehend, be very fatal to him. I hope you will impress this on his mind, more for his own sake than for ours; and, if he denies any leaning towards Veneeram, point out to his notice the facts above mentioned.

I enclose herewith a letter with its enclosure which Lady Carnac has received from the widow of the late Witak Bow Bhow, with whom she was acquainted when we were at Baroda. I can take no official notice of it, but you will deal with it as its merits may appear to deserve. I know nothing

of the dispute between her and the adopted son. She was a very respectable woman in the days of my residence at Baroda. Of the adopted son, who was not born I believe at that time, what little I have heard has been to his discredit. I allude to the murder of the Wagra, which in a British Court might have cost him his life, and for which he was heavily fined with our approbation by the Guicowar.

We are all well and going on as usual, the young ladies feel much obliged for the handsome turquoises, which you kindly sent them, and which they have had beautifully set. I must also thank you for the box of segars which are of prime quality. The Overland July Mail not yet received, which is provoking enough, being on the *qui vive* for accounts from Aden as well as from England.

Lady Carnac begs her kind regards with her best wishes for your prosperity and believe me

My dear Boyd,
Most sincerely yours,
(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

Reid is here for a few days.

98.—THE RIGHT HON'BLE SIR J. HOBHOUSE, BART.,
etc., etc., etc.

DAPOOREE, 26th August 1840.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—Our July Mail did not reach Bombay till the 23rd of this month, owing to a sailing vessel bringing it down from Aden, and the baffling winds, which the vessel experienced at this season on its voyage. I had the pleasure to receive by it your letter of the 4th of July.

You will have heard of the measures which were taken to re-inforce the garrison of Aden after the attack of the Arabs in June. That portion of them which we sent by the *Sesostris* has arrived there and the transports with the remainder were we hear in sight of the place when the *Palinurus* (which brought the Mail) left it. The result of the attack by the Arabs on the 5th of July has been reported to you by Captain Haines; this was some time previous to the arrival of our re-inforcement

above alluded to. The lesson the Arabs then received, and the divisions it has produced amongst the tribes, will probably lead to future tranquillity. Already some of them have sued for peace, but we have it in contemplation to send an expedition under the orders of the Government of India to attack Lahadj and immediately return. I should hope that the recent discomfiture of the Arabs will have the effect of obviating the necessity of this expedition, which if it is to take place will proceed about the end of the year. I do not deny under existing circumstances the importance of Aden. The French Expedition, to the Bay of Zulah, of itself requires that we should not give up our footing in that quarter of the Globe. You may be sure of our best exertions to give Captain Haines any aid he may require in planting the British flag in the harbour of Tadjuna, and we have suggested to him to go there in person, if the exigencies of the service will permit, and to let us know how we can assist the object of his instructions from the Secret Committee. I wish we could get a reply to a reference to the Court, so far back as before the time of my coming here, as to our incurring the expense recommended to place Aden in a proper state of defence. We are going on with some indispensable works under the authority of the Governor-General in Council, but it is rather embarrassing to this Government that we cannot hear from the Home Authorities, particularly now that the Secret Committee appears to have resolved to retain Aden. I am glad to find that you are about to send a heavy ship of war to those seas, which may occasionally make its appearance with good effect in the Persian Gulf.

My present report of the state of our N.-W. relations is not so favorable as my former communications, but I trust we shall be able to put all to rights in a moderate time. Our secret despatches faithfully relate all that comes to our knowledge, but I must say that our Politicals in Upper Scind and in the countries below the Bolan Pass appear to have been most faulty in their information. Tribes bearing implacable hatred to each other have joined in rebellion, and we have now accounts of Shah Newany Khan having surrendered

Khelat to the rebels headed by Mehrab Khan's son. The moral effect of this in the country will be serious ; it would not have happened had Lord Auckland's recorded opinions as to the amount of force to be kept in the country, been strictly attended to. This Government has nothing to say to proceedings in Upper or Lower Scind, but the representations we received, tho' contradictory, determined me at once to send up re-inforcements, the first detachment of which has proceeded with our steamers, and must have arrived ; the rest will be at Karachee by the middle of next month. I have no doubt that these insurrections have been fomented by Sikh gold, nor more doubt that they (the Sikhs) are in their hearts our bitter foes and will break out when the proper time arrives. I do not know what measures Lord Auckland is adopting for redress from the Lahore Durbar. The proceedings of Herat exhibit as good a specimen of double distilled perfidy as can well be imagined. I will not dwell on the subject, having sent the full particulars to the Secret Committee, but I send you some private correspondence which has passed between Sir W. McNaghten and myself, and with the Governor-General, as connected with the Herat affair.

I hope you will approve of the measures I have taken to re-inforce the troops in Scind ; on such occasions there is nothing like promptitude in acting. Our steamers on the Indus have been of essential service in taking up the 2nd Grenadiers N.I. and a wing of H.M. 40th Regiment from Karachee to Sukkar. I think, with a little more experience of the river, we shall do very well with all our steamers on the Indus, with the exception of the vessel of that name which draws too much water for all seasons.

I am concerned to tell you that Brigadier Stevenson, Commander in Upper Scind, is dead. I had previously suggested to Lord Auckland that as the force was about to be so materially increased in Upper Scind, and, bearing in mind that if the whole of H.M. 40th Regiment was called upon, officers much senior to Brigadier Stevenson would apply to proceed with it, his Lordship would allow me to offer the command of all the troops in Scind to that excellent and experienced officer

LETTERS OF A GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY, 1839-41. 195

Sir T. Wiltshire * now commanding a brigade at Poonah. I have not yet received his Lordship's answer, but it appeared to me there could be no better arrangement, especially at this moment.

One political agent in Shawl, to whom Khelat was subject, committed a great mistake in making over to us the customs of the Port of Soumeanee in payment of some advance of money. This port never belonged to the Chief of Khelat but to the Chief of Biella in the province of Lus ; and Lieutenant Gordon, our agent at Soumeanee, has acted with singular good judgment by endeavouring to conciliate the Chief of Biella, and declining to quit his post, when earnestly recommended, though attended by a very light escort. This it is which, hitherto at least, has prevented the Biella chief from joining the rebellion in Beloochistan. The Governor-General has entirely disapproved of Captain Bean's proceedings in this particular instance, and Lieutenant Gordon is still at Soumeanee.

I have nothing else to say. You may rely on my best vigilance and the next steamer will, I hope, take you better account. No intelligence to this day from China.

Believe me,
Yours very truly,
(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

99.—W. B. BAYLEY, ESQ.

DAPOOREE, *26th August* 1840.

MY DEAR BAYLEY,—I know how much your time must be occupied, and, therefore, I will not trouble you further than to send you copy of my letter to Sir J. Hobhouse, who will most likely be in the country when this mail arrives. It contains all the information I have, and it is not very favorable.

I have also written to Melvill, who, I dare say, will shew you the letter. I have received your kind letter of the 4th July, and delivered the inclosure from Mrs. Bayley to Lady Carnac.

Believe me, etc.,
(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

* Wiltshire.

100.—HIS EXCELLENCY

LT.-GENL. SIR LIONEL SMITH, BT., K.C.B.

[DAPPOOREE, 29th August 1840.]

MY DEAR SIR LIONEL,*—I had yesterday the gratification to receive your letter of the 24th of last month, and congratulate you on your assumption of the Government of Mauritius.

I was sorry to hear your health was so indifferent in England, and, though in some degree the climate may be to blame I think something may be attributed to the want of occupation which is vital to one of your active mind. You must have found Jamaica an onerous charge, which, I had understood, you managed with singular tact and talent, and that you were worshipped by the Negro population. The Missionaries, however, were too powerful, and the Government too weak to carry out what they approved. Judging by the newspapers, your successor Sir Charles Metcalfe is already at variance with some parties on the Island, as all have been who have preceded him, and I only hope he will be supported. I am afraid your present charge will not be a bed of roses, though you say the Mauritius is a sugar colony, the rules and regulations for our Indian labourers will require the exercise of your well-known benevolence and perhaps of your power. I do not join in the cry that the system is an indirect renewal of the odious slave trade, provided full and efficient means are taken to give protection to the labourers, and that they are allowed to depart on the expiration of their engagement. Nothing perhaps is more necessary than legislative provisions for their care and comfort in their passage to and from India. You will be glad to hear that myself and family have hitherto had no reason to complain of the Indian climate, but it is true we have advantages by resorting to Mahabaleswar and this place which afford no criterion of it. I have an excellent house, or rather bangalow, at the hills which belonged to Sir R. Grant, where we propose to spend the hot months, and I can communicate with Bombay in 24 hours. Dapooree you must know well, it is very much what it was in

* Sir Lionel Smith. Created a Baronet at the Coronation of Queen Victoria Born 1778, died 1842. See Buckland : *Dictionary of Indian Biography*.

your time. As to Bombay itself it is so altered in point of general improvement and the extension of European society that I should have hardly known it again. But the greatest change is amongst the Natives. Education has been, and is making rapid innovation upon their exclusive habits, and sapping the foundation of their superstitions. The Missionaries, by some of their zealous proceedings, have I think rather stayed the march of mind by unnecessarily alarming their prejudices : these people have done good by establishing schools and if they would but let events take their natural course it would be well. Government, however, has taken the education of the people very much into their own hands, and our progress in that respect in the provinces is very encouraging. As to the business of the Government, it is threefold more than even in the days of Elphinstone, and our position as a frontier station makes us have many more external relations. The Government, when I came here, was in a somewhat agitated state. Though the troops had got to the confines of Affghanistan, there had been no collision with the enemy, and it was uncertain what obstacles might be encountered in the first difficulty of getting through the Bolan Pass. The disaffected in India were alive to the difficulties of the enterprize, and the mass of the people on the tiptoe of expectation, doubting what was to happen. There was no doubt of the native chiefs being leagued, and ready to act on the first favourable opportunity. The Governor-General in Council had unanimously declared that the Rajah of Sattarah should be deposed. I arrived just in time to urge that I should be allowed to visit him to save him from what had been resolved upon. The result you know: I found him inexorable to my appeals to agree to terms of the most moderate description, and, when I considered the state of India and the influence of his name in the southern part of it, after repeated warnings of the consequences of his contumacy, which he constantly and not very courteously disregarded, I had but one course, however painful and however it might expose me to the objections even of my own friends. Amongst them Forbes, no doubt in the conscientious discharge of his duty and from the benevolence which characterizes him, has been very conspicuous in the

advocacy of the Rajah, but it appears to me that he would have thought differently had he been on the spot and seen all. The consequence I verily believe of the Rajah's deposition was the early submission of the Guicowar, whose acts for a series of years had laid him open to severe displeasures and who was at the zenith of his misconduct at the time of the Rajah of Sattarah's downfall. Now, I am happy to say, he has nearly complied with our demands, and I hope to see our relations with him placed on a permanent footing. The whole country is in a tranquil state, including Chin la Mum Row and the rest of the Southern Jaghirdars. Chin la Mun Row made many enquiries about you, as well as several others of the Sirdars, who bear a grateful recollection of your kindness towards them.

You may feel some interest in our proceedings in the N.-W. Our prospects of tranquillity in that quarter were at first very promising, but what with the intrigues of Persia through Russia and of the Sikhs (as it appears to me) there is much chance of work to do. But I have no doubt that Lord Auckland's policy will be energetic and decided, and the game will then be in our own hands.

Beloochistan is in open insurrection. Khelat, there is too much reason to fear, has been surrendered to the rebels headed by the son of the late chief who was killed on the capture of that place by Sir T. Wiltshire. Some of our posts have been taken and officers and men put indiscriminately to the sword. In consequence we have got up by our steamers in the monsoon, no doubt to the surprise of the people, some troops into Sind, and altogether four native corps are on their way to the same quarter. I have myself no fear but that we shall soon put down these Beloochees and rectify what has gone wrong, but this, I fear, is not all that we have to apprehend. The Russian advance towards Khiva excited great attention, it is true they have retreated, but it is but for a time. We should make the best use of the respite they have been forced to give us. Their possession of Khiva and the wonderfully productive banks of the Oxus will place them in a formidable attitude to our Indian possessions. We are just now surrounded by war and rumours of war. The papers say we are on the brink of a

rupture with the Nepaulese, and I do not see that we can maintain our present relations with the Sikhs with any dependence on their good faith. From China up to this date we have heard nothing—much will be gathered to enable us to form some estimate of the means of the Chinese to oppose by their first essay in war with an European power. Such, then, is our present position in India, one no doubt of some anxiety, but if matters come to an extremity we shall overcome our difficulties as we always have done.

I have the pleasure to know the Lieutenant-Colonel of your Regiment. He is now Commandant of the garrison at Bombay, and I have always found him a most zealous officer. You may be sure of my attention to your recommendation of him. I had great satisfaction in being able to be of some service to your friend Captain Aston. I found him acting Assistant to the Political Agent in Cattywar, on a vacancy I nominated him Assistant in that department, where, from his qualifications, his services will be highly useful. Colonel Stevenson of the Artillery, whom you may have known, and who was selected by Lord Keane for the command in Upper Sind, died, I am sorry to say, on the 9th of this month. It was my wish that Sir T. Wiltshire should be appointed to the command of all the troops both in Upper and Lower Sind, but his health is so impaired that he is compelled to proceed to Europe.

I hope you will not be tired with this long letter. I shall be most happy to maintain a correspondence; knowing the interest you take in India, and being now so near you that you will be able to favor me with your sentiments, and when necessary with your advice. Lady Carnac begs to join me in every kind of remembrance to Lady Lionel Smith, who, we think, will prefer the climate of Mauritius to that of Jamaica.

Believe me, my dear Sir Lionel,

Ever sincerely yours,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

101.—SIR W. B. MCNAGHTEN, BART.

DAPOOREE, 1st September 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have this morning received your letter by express of the ——— *ultimo*, and hasten to inform you that

from the complexion of affairs in Upper Sind, I had anticipated the sanction of the Governor-General in Council for sending re-inforcements. There was some difficulty at this season of the year, but we employed two of our steamers to carry as many up to Kerachee as possible. The 1st detachment of the 25th Regiment has been safely landed at Kerachee, and on the return of the steamers, the remainder of that Corps has also proceeded, and by this time must have reached the same destination. The 8th Regiment and 21st will embark in transports on the 10th and 20th of this month, while the 6th Regiment has proceeded by the land route from Deesa in Guzrat *via* Parkar to Hyderabad. As many camels as could be had in Guzerat have been sent with this corps, while others have been purchased in Cutch and Lower Sind. It will depend on the Political Agents in Upper and Lower Sind, subject only to the Supreme Government, how to dispose of these corps, but I entirely agree with you that we should be prompt in re-capturing Khelat, and signally punishing the rebels. I am afraid the fall of this place will be attended with many mischievous effects, which can only be lessened by a vigorous exertion. I feel, I may almost say confidently, that the Sikhs are the instigators of the serious insurrection in Beloochistan, as you proved them to have been of that of the Ghilzees. I have heard nothing from Lord Auckland of his intentions, consequent on your letters to him or of mine. on the subject of Sikh intrigues. His Lordship has a great deal on his hands, and there has not been time, perhaps to make up his mind on the momentous question submitted to him.

We can send some further re-inforcement in case of any further exigencies by way of Guzerat into the heart of Sind. I conclude you have not heard again from Herat. Your suspicions of Yar Mohamed's views towards Candahar quite tally with my own. I hope all is quiet in Affghanistan. You do not say how Dost Mahomed got out of the hands of the King of Bokhara. If he should come in, I should say with all deference that he ought not to be allowed an asylum anywhere west of the Indus.

The news of Khelat was known to the natives some days

before the intelligence reached us, and there appears to be more than ordinary curiosity amongst them in the Deccan.

We have as yet no news from China, and the Bengal newspapers tell us there is to be a war with the Nepaulese.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Yours most sincerely,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

102.—MAJOR OUTRAM.

DAPOOREE, *8th September* 1840. (Confidential.)

MY DEAR OUTRAM,—I have heard this morning from Lord Auckland, dated 28th August. He expressed his wish, which he had before communicated to me, that military movements may not be too hastily or hazardously urged forward. If he alludes to those from Upper Scind we have no control over them—of those which have and are taking place from this Presidency we are relieved from all apprehension by the arrival at Karachi of the first detachment, though in the midst of the Monsoon. The rest will go at a time when country boats from Sind have taken to the sea, namely, the 10th and 20th of this month respectively.

I send, *for your own information*, the following passage from his Lordship's letter. "Bell is about very shortly altogether to retire, and when this takes place and offices are a little more settled, your views in regard to Scind may very well be considered. I have always looked on the present arrangement as only temporary." Now these views were, as I originally proposed, that the charges of Upper and Lower Scind should be committed to one functionary and that this charge should be confided to you. I submitted also, that you should be placed under the immediate control of this Government, subject to the general orders of the Governor-General in Council. How far this last proposition may succeed is doubtful, but I think when Mr. Bell retires, you are likely to be appointed to the joint charge; and in better hands permit me to say it could not be.

Again His Lordship says "I did not intend that our orders for the recall of the *Indus* should be peremptory and

will gladly revoke them if it should be thoroughly probable she would be useful towards the mouth of the River." Should you think so, by all means retain her in present times.

Believe me,
Yours very sincerely,
(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

103.—ROSS BELL, ESQ.

DAPOOREE, 8th September 1840.

DEAR SIR,—I had yesterday the pleasure to receive your letter of the 23rd *ultimo*. In the meantime you will have been informed of the arrangements made by this Government for re-inforcing and ultimately relieving the Bombay troops in Upper Sind. Upward of 1,000 bayonets have already been landed at Karachee, and, by this time, I hope they are on the march for Sukkur, and may they avoid the worst part of the unhealthy season. The 6th Regiment from Deesa was to march from that place on the 28th *ultimo* for Hyderabad, and will, I trust, reach that place without accident, though this route has never yet been traversed by our troops.

Colonel Farquharson at Karachee is in hopes of obtaining camels sufficient for two regiments. As many as are obtainable in Cutch and Deesa and its vicinity will be procured, and the supplies drawn from these quarters will, I trust, be ample, with those you are yourself collecting, for all you want. All officers on staff-employ belonging to the Regiments serving in Sind have been ordered to join except those in political employ, I am also adopting measures for adding to the number of our Artillery officers to our detachments in Scind. Major-General Brooks has been appointed to the Sukkur Brigade. He is considered one of our best officers of the highest grade. In regard to your proposal to send a Brigade direct to Khelat *via* Soumeanee it has come too late ; even were it deemed practicable, the route is almost unknown, and has been reported impracticable for artillery. Independent of this, however, I do not think I could have felt myself authorized to adopt this measure till I am informed what steps the Governor-General intends to take consequent on the fall of Khelat. I do not

approve of Captain Bean's policy to recognize usurpers, for this would undoubtedly be construed into an acknowledgment of our weakness. This Government, however, as you are aware, has no voice in the question as to what policy should be pursued, and could not adopt a measure like that you propose in anticipation that it will be so and so. In regard to Irregular Horse I am sorry I can give you no aid. The Poona Horse cannot be required to proceed on Foreign Service, and I can hardly expect they will ever again volunteer after so many of this body were detained when the grand campaign was considered terminated. I am well aware of the emergency which has led to the detention, but it is much to be regretted from the bad effects it has produced on the spirit of the Corps generally. I quite agree with your opinion of Shah Neway Khan's conduct. As far as our present information extends, he only bent to the storm and took all practicable means for Mr. Loveday's safety. I shall be happy to hear from you of the result of your approaching military operations and re-iterating the expression of my earnest wish to render you every assistance in my power from this Presidency.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Faithfully yours,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

104.—SIR ALEXANDER BURNES, KT., C.B.

DAPOOREE, 11th September 1840.

MY DEAR SIR ALEXANDER,—I have had the pleasure to receive your confidential letter of the — *ultimo* with its highly interesting inclosure. The picture you give of Shah Soojah's internal administration confirms in a material degree the accounts we have occasionally seen in the newspapers, and it is an evil of greater magnitude than the partial disasters which have taken place. I can easily imagine the delicate and difficult situation in which Sir W. McNaghten is placed, and what good management is necessary to correct the evil without disgusting the Shah, and giving a custom to the people for representing him but a puppet of the English. In the external

policy we are called on to adopt, my opinion has been strengthened by passing events ; a vigorous and prompt exhibition of our power would leave the game in our hands with comparative ease ; but Lord Auckland, whose means of information are far superior to mine, seems to me to think differently ; he does not propose to take measures against Herat on which I calculated confidently but he proposes eventually to fix a large force at Quetta to support Candahar and, at the same time, to overawe Baloochistan. The possession of Herat, the key of Affghanistan, to my comprehension, would complete our barrier as far as Affghanistan is concerned, and its gross perfidy justified the end. I am indeed sorry to hear of the unquiet spirit of the Affghans, and how thoroughly we appear to be disliked. This we may ascribe to the intrigues of the Sikhs, who ever have, and will stir up disturbances in Affghanistan, but Lord A. does not look upon their proceedings in so serious a light as myself, and I do not think he will take strong measures, at least until something more is developed.

You will have heard of what this Government, on its own responsibility, has done on hearing of the disturbances at Quetta : by the end of this month we shall have four thousand bayonets in Scind in addition to those already there. More than 1,200 were landed at Kerachee by our steamers in the midst of the monsoon, and others are following rapidly—the moral effect of this will be very good as well as that of marching a battalion straight from Deesa to Hyderabad of whose progress we have favorable accounts. The surrender of Khelat is much to be lamented, and it ought to be speedily retaken. I do not understand Captain Bean's policy of recognising the usurper, and suppose it will not be listened to. It appears to me that it would be a premium for rebellion and infect the discontent all over the country. Major-General Brookes has been appointed to succeed the late Colonel Stevenson, Sir T. Wiltshire to whom it was first offered being compelled by ill-health to return to England. If any further aid is wanted from this Presidency it shall be promptly and cheerfully given, but it seems almost a pity that, though so near at hand, this Government has nothing to say (beyond furnishing troops) to any proceedings in Scind.

Pray, make my kind respects to Sir W. McNaghten. I am sceptical about Dost Mahomed's friendly intentions, and be they what they may, a man of his reputation and talents requires to be narrowly watched, as well as his brother, who has already surrendered. I am glad to find that if Dost Mahomed comes in, he will be sent off to Kurdistan to end his days in a comfortable provision. Our August overland packet is daily expected. No decisive news as yet of our operations in China.

Believe me, my dear Sir Alexander,

Yours very sincerely,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

105.—MAJOR RAWLINSON,
Political Agent, Candahar.

DAPOOREE, 11th September 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have now to offer you my best thanks for your interesting and kind communication of the 2nd August. I had heard with great pleasure of your appointment to Candahar, and though you are so good as to attribute it to my recommendation of you to Sir W. McNaghten, it is to yourself alone you owe your present advancement. I knew you by reputation before I had the pleasure of knowing you personally, and had the advantage in England of seeing some of your correspondence from Persia; add to this, in a letter I had from Sir John McNeill, he spoke of you both in his personal and official capacity in the highest terms of commendation, which letter I forwarded to the Envoy. So much for this matter, and it remains for me only to offer you sincere good wishes for your welfare and prosperity.

I shall be exceedingly indebted to you for your promised communications from Candahar. Affghanistan is becoming every day more interesting, and our means of information as to its real state here are far from abundant. It does not appear to me, from what you say, that we are in a comfortable state in that country, or that the people are at all reconciled to the new order of things; but at whatever sacrifice in the way of expence which its retention may entail, now that we have such clean proofs of the designs of Russia, we can never retire

from it. I quite agree with you in the policy of annexing Herat to Shah Soojah's dominions, and thereby completing the barrier against foreign aggression as far as Affghanistan is concerned, but I question if this is the view of the Governor-General or that his Lordship would authorize the more extended views you mention towards Bokhara being acted on. In this I should agree with his Lordship, looking on the Russian question as one we cannot deal with from India, but as belonging to the consideration of the Cabinet of England. I foresee with you the danger of Russia occupying the Delta of the Oxus, and that, if she subdue Khiva, with her alliance with Bokhara, the consequences will lessen the security of our Indian Empire. Such a proceeding on her part would, I should say, warrant a continental war, and I do not think Russia is politically prepared to enter on any such hazardous enterprize. At the same time, I do not see any objection, far otherwise, to our maintaining a friendly intercourse with the Chiefs of Khiva and Kokan, and, while we acquire by these means a knowledge of those countries, we might conciliate the people by shewing the disinterestedness of our Affghan policy. I should not attempt to enter into any offensive or defensive alliances in Turkistan until the Cabinet at home shall have marked out the policy to be pursued there, and is prepared to support it from the resources of England. We have much, I apprehend, to do in India before we can hope for security in Affghanistan, and it will require all our available means to enable you to effect a proper arrangement. I have no faith in the Sikhs, and the time I think is not far distant when they ought to be placed in a different relative position. These insurrections in Beloochistan will, I hope, soon be put down, but promptitude in this will save us many troubles hereafter. I do not concur in Captain Bean's policy of recognizing the usurper. It appears to me that it would be construed into an acknowledgment of our weakness, and a more injurious impression as regards us could not be imparted to the Affghans, already discontented and ripe for resistance. I can hardly think Dost Mahomed's approach to the confines of Affghanistan is with any friendly design. He should be vigilantly watched as well as

his brother who has already surrendered himself, and certainly he should not be allowed to reside west of the Indus where his influence must still be considerable. In the hope of hearing from you whenever your convenience may admit of your writing.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Very faithfully yours,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

106.—HIS EXCELLENCY

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR THOMAS MCMAHON, BART,
K.C.B.

etc.,

etc.,

etc.

DAPOOREE, 15th September 1840.

MY DEAR SIR THOMAS,—Colonel Ovans is anxious that Brevet-Captain Whitmore of the 11th Regiment should be appointed acting Line Adjutant at Sattarah, in order that he may be placed in charge of the Rajah's new Corps during Lieutenant Thomas's absence. If you see no objection, will you kindly nominate Captain Whitmore in such a manner as will clearly shew that the appointment is only temporary, and that it is intended that Lieutenant Thomas of the 8th shall resume his duties, whenever his services with his Corps can be dispensed with.

I enclose a letter which I received late yesterday evening from Lord Auckland dated the 1st of this month. You have already warned the 3rd Cavalry for field service. The detachment of this regiment now at Balmeer should immediately be directed to this fact and to join Headquarters on the line of march. You will be good enough to determine which troop of Horse Artillery should be sent: that at Deesa appears to me most convenient, but it formed part of Lord Keane's force. I think our best plan will be to order the whole of the Queen's 40th up to Sukkur, and perhaps to send a wing of the 41st up to Sukkur, and perhaps to send a wing of the 41st up to Karachee, but upon this latter arrangement I would like to have your sentiment. A good engineer, either Waddington or Peat, and a good commissary (Davidson) ought to be appointed as

well as a good staff to General Brooks. Major Wylie * it seems to me would be a good man, not only from his general qualifications but from having before been in Affghanistan. It would be most acceptable to me if these arrangements could be made in double quick.

Believe me, my dear Sir Thomas,

Yours most sincerely,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

107.—SIR WM. MCNAGHTEN, BART.

etc.,

etc.,

etc.

DAPOOREE, 16th September 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,—The last mail brought me a letter for you from our friend Bayley which I hope you have received. Our reinforcements to Scind are making every progress. The landing of the troops in the midst of the Monsoon appears to have produced an admirable moral effect in the country. Lord Auckland, on hearing of the fall of Kelat, recommends me to send in addition a regiment of Cavalry and a troop of Horse Artillery, with the view eventually of forming a station at Quetta, an arrangement which I took the liberty of suggesting to his Lordship. We are going to send up to Sukkur the remaining wing of the Queen's 40th, this Regiment with two or three battalions and the abovementioned details with a complement of Artillery will furnish the means of overawing Beloochistan and of supporting Candahar, which in Affghanistan is the point to which we should look at present. His Lordship, however, does not in the least incline to the policy which I suggested to him, in the event of the Sikhs not strictly fulfilling their engagements, nor to our proceeding to annex Herat to Shah Sooja's dominions after the late perfidy of Yar Mahomed. The news from England holds out an expectation of an amicable settlement of our differences with Persia, but there is every prospect of a war with Mahomed Ali of Egypt. Our fleet in the Mediterranean has already blockaded Alexandria, Syria, and the Island of Candia, and Colonel Hodges, the Queen's Consul, has warned the English residents in Egypt of the

* Probably Sir William Wylie is referred to.

critical state of affairs. It is understood that the Pacha relies on the physical assistance of France, but I can hardly believe that Louis Philippe will render it at the risque of a continental war. In the meantime, however, the Pacha may interrupt our overland communication.

I know of no other intelligence of importance by the late opportunity unless it be the death of Lord Durham.

Yours most sincerely,
(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

108.—THE LORD ELPHINSTONE, G.C.H.

etc., etc., etc.

DAPOOREE, 16th September 1940.

MY DEAR LORD,—I have had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 3rd of this month. We have already called for an estimate of the expence of making a road as far as Beejapora, the limit of our territories on the Madras side, and be assured of our cordially co-operating with you in recommending the adoption of this line of road in conjunction with your's to the early sanction of the Court of Directors.

Nothing I apprehend but financial difficulty can prevent the Court from giving us support for the reasons your Lordship assigns.

The August Mail has brought us one piece of important intelligence, namely, the prospect of war with Egypt. Our fleet in the Mediterranean had already commenced the blockade of Alexandria, Syria and the island of Candia, and Colonel Hodges, the Queen's Consul, had warned the English residents in Egypt of the critical state of affairs. The Pacha had indignantly rejected the terms offered him by the Porte, backed by England, Austria, Russia and Prussia, and relies upon France, but I can hardly believe that Louis Philippe will run the risque of a continental war. I had by the same opportunity a letter addressed to your Government for my information and guidance. It related to your absence with your colleagues from the seat of Government declaring it to be illegal and that the absence of any one of us from the Presidency, according to law, suspended our powers for the time being. This order places me in a very embarrassing position

because the experience, which I have had of Bombay has convinced me that, if compelled to reside there at all seasons these orders are my death warrant.

You will have seen the state we have got into in Beloochistan. Apprehending the storm, I ventured on my own responsibility to send up re-inforcements by our steamers in the midst of the Monsoon, which have arrived at Karachee without an accident of importance. This has been approved by the Governor-General, but the moral effect of landing troops at such a season has been admirable all over the country. I hope we shall soon be able to rectify matters. So far it is some consolation to us at Bombay that we have nothing to say to political arrangements either in Lower or Upper Scind.

You may be sure, that, if I am at Bombay when your young officers arrive there on their way to Affghanistan, they shall receive from me every attention in my power.

Sir Thomas Wiltshire I am sorry to say was unable from bad health to take the command in Scind, and General Brooks of the Company's Army has been appointed, and probably your young officers may go in company with him, as he is now on his way from Mhow, where he commanded.

Lady Carnac and my daughters beg to be very kindly remembered to your Lordship. Their health, thank God, has been good since they came to this climate, and so was mine until lately, when I felt that I was not so strong as in the first year of my residence. I thank you for the hint about the Neilgherries in a case of necessity. I sincerely hope the air of the hills has quite restored you.

Believe me, my dear Lord Elphinstone,

Ever sincerely yours,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

109.—THE HON'BLE T. C. ROBERTSON,
etc., etc., etc.

DAPOOREE, 22nd September 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,—I thank you for your note of the 8th of this month. It contains very interesting and valuable information and at all events we must be vigilant.

You will have heard of the disastrous affair of Major Clibborn's detachment within a few miles of Kaham. We have lost no time in adding to the reinforcements for Scind, the 3rd Cavalry, two troops of Horse Artillery, a wing of the Queen's 41st to take the place of the 40th regiment ordered up to Sukkur immediately on the route becoming healthy, and some foot artillery from Bhooj are ordered to Scind, and will proceed directly we can get carriage and freight for them. The cavalry of all arms are to go overland. The difficulty is in getting followers, the service in Scind being very unpopular with that class of people. We are straining every nerve to procure a sufficiency of camels.

I look to the Dussera as the period when the disaffected will exhibit their intentions, and amongst them I am quite prepared to find our faithful allies, the Sikhs. With this view, I have ordered a portion of the Queen's 2nd and of the 4th Dragoons to hold themselves in readiness. I have in reserve the 17th Foot and one more native battalion, but that is the extent of our available means unless the Madras Government can afford us any assistance in the way of troops.

We are also not without some anxiety about the news which the last mail brought us from Egypt. I can hardly guess whether Mahomed Ali will resist the blockade of Alexandria, but I can hardly believe the French will venture a war with the four powers on his account. We are quietly taking all the means in our power for the defence of Bombay, we have accounts of a French squadron, consisting of a 44 gun frigate and four smaller ships, being on their way to the Red Sea, and in these parts we have not a single ship of H.M. Navy.

My last letter from Lord Auckland seemed to hold out hopes that our differences with the Nepaulese would be reconciled, but we shall see.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Very faithfully yours,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

110.—C. NORRIS, ESQ.

etc., etc.

DAPPOOREE, 23rd September 1840.

MY DEAR MR. NORRIS,—The August mail brought me your letter of the 3rd of that month. I have already written to Robertson, in reply to a letter I received by his son, and can only repeat what I then said—that the course, which in his conscience he thought proper to pursue in regard to the case of the Rajah of Sattarah, had not in the slightest degree diminished those feelings of personal regard which had subsisted between us for the last 40 years. God forbid that legitimate differences of opinion on public questions should ever sever old ties of friendship or interrupt those mutual good offices which that obligation calls for. It is not in my nature, if I know myself, to have any such feelings, and, as I originally felt towards my old friend Robertson, I feel now, and would aid his object with as much earnestness and sincerity. You mention Sir Charles Forbes among the number, and he is a host in himself; if ever I had any influence among the Proprietors (which was more in name than reality) it was perhaps with Sir Charles Forbes himself and his friends, of whom I reckoned myself one—however inconsiderable in weight, there was not one more sincere. I was bound to him and shall ever be so by ties of gratitude, which in this revolving world, happen what may, can never be forgotten. My absence from home has, of course, weakened my influence with individuals, and I verily believe I could not say that half a dozen persons would give their vote on my suggestion. Such, however, as will out of regard to me, would do me a favour by supporting Robertson, he being the candidate to whom *I first pledged myself*. What more can I say or do at this distance? I will write to my brother and to Sir Henry Willock by this mail. The rest of my intimates, being Bombay contemporaries are, I know, supporters of Robertson.

Tell Robertson, with my regards, that his son dined here last night, and, saving a little accident which occurred to his left hand whilst on a sporting excursion, a matter of no consequence, he was looking uncommonly well and seems altogether

to like his position. In appearance he very much resembles his uncle Henry.

By this opportunity you will hear of the death of poor Miss Emma Roberts of a cancer in her stomach, apparently of some standing, and also of Alfred Williams, the son of my old friend Colonel Monier Williams, having been killed with three other officers, namely, Captain Raitt and Lieutenants Franklin and Moore (besides Lieutenant Loch of the Irregular Cavalry), who was severely wounded, in Major Clibborne's detachment in Upper Scind.

I am just on the wing to Kandalla in the first instance and thence to Bombay. The aspect of affairs just now appears to require that I should be there. With best wishes.

Believe me,

My dear Mr. Norris,

Yours very faithfully,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

III.—W. B. BAYLEY, ESQ.,
etc., etc., etc.

DAPOOREE, 21st September 1840.

MY DEAR BAYLEY,—My last letter will have told you that the state of our N.-W. relations was not so favourable as in my former communications. We have now just had accounts of a reverse which may be pregnant with serious consequences. It is, I think, fortunate that I took upon myself to send up re-inforcements, whose arrival will be very seasonable. The greater part of them are by this time in full march through Scind. You will have heard that Major Clibborne with a detachment of 800 men marched for the relief of Kahun, accompanied from Sukkur by three guns and a large convoy of stores and provisions. They made their way without hindrance, but under considerable difficulties from the scarcity of water, till reaching a formidable pass within, as it is said, 8 miles of Kahun. Here they found the enemy posted in great strength, and the first step Major Clibborne took was to storm the pass with four companies. The road in the

pass was destroyed, and the men could only move in single file. The enemy rolled down immense stones from the precipices, and poured in a heavy fire of matchlock, which disconcerting our men, they rushed down with their sabres, and in the cramped and comparatively disabled situation of our men, fearful havoc was committed, so much so, that Major Clibborne sounded a retreat. In this attack four officers were killed, namely, Captain Raitt, Lieutenants Franklin, and Moore, and my poor young friend Williams, son of the late Colonel Monier Williams. Lieutenant Loch of the Cavalry, nephew to Mr. Loch, has been severely wounded. The disaster unhappily did not end here. The troops had not any water nor could any be got. Frantic with thirst they were retreating when the Murrees cut in amongst them, got possession of the whole of the large convoy stores, treasure chest and the three guns. They were saved by the Artillery using grape briskly among them, but as the horses were bad, and dying from the want of water, they were compelled to abandon their guns, having previously spiked them. The accounts we have are from Major Clibborne himself, written within 18 miles of Phoolagee in pencil on a slip of paper, and give a melancholy picture of his little force. The followers are totally destroyed. I wish I could hear the Major was fairly out of the hills and had reached Phoolagee. The brave fellows in Kahun must now be abandoned to their fate, and it is easy to guess what that will be amongst such a ferocious race. Their provisions are exhausted, and, unless they can capitulate, they will sell their lives as dear as possible. This is a disastrous affair, but it is not our business to look back. You will see in the secret despatch what measures I have taken upon it. Not an hour was lost by me in executing the necessary measures, and it is so far fortunate that I was here, as these are the head-quarters of the Commander-in-Chief and the heads of the Military Departments.

I have long ago predicted to you that something serious was brewing in the N.-W. We want more European troops, and I have ventured to say so to the Secret Committee. Ever since the Russian Expedition to Khiva the country has been in a restless state, and at this moment Dost Mahomed

is on the confines of Affghanistan with very questionable intentions. There has been some correspondence intercepted, the nature of which I send you through the Committee, and the Sikhs, as I have long foreseen, are implicated in dangerous proceedings. I have submitted my opinions over and over again to Lord Auckland for many months past, and I dare say he will act with vigour. I do not say that we want more European troops because of the Murree affair, which, as far as we at present know, is a local one, though I think the Sikhs are at the bottom of it as well as of the suppressed insurrection of the Ghilzees ; but with reference to the general aspect of affairs, we are also under some anxiety about the result of the measures against Mehemet Ali of Egypt. Surely the French will not dare to risk a war for such an object ; but we have put forth our best means at Bombay by way of defence in such a contingency. I shall be at the Presidency when the September mail is expected to arrive. Captain Haines reports that a squadron of five ships, French men-of-war, are on their way out for the Red Sea. The largest of them is stated to be 44 guns, the rest of a smaller force, and the French have already some corvettes in these seas, while we have not a single ship of war to depend upon except one armed steamer. You may well imagine that, what with one subject and another, I am not without my anxieties, and with all this come out your orders about the absence of Governors from the seat of Government. There never was a greater mistake than restraining your Governors, at least as far as their government is concerned. It is not a settled but a frontier Government, and the appearance of the Governor in the Provinces is, as I have seen, of infinite service. But be this as it may, of this I feel perfectly certain, that if compelled to be at Bombay at all seasons, it will be my death warrant ; that may be of no consequence to the Court, but to me it is of *vital* consequence. At the same time you order us to sell Malabar Point, which I have postponed, whilst Parell is not safely habitable in these months. The Governor has no other residence left since you sold his house in town to turn into an office, and now that you have given him Dapooree he cannot legally go there. I have written this in a great hurry,

and you must forgive the want of a better connected narrative. I shall keep this letter open in case of any further intelligence.

25th September 1840.

MY DEAR BAYLEY,—We have just received Major Clibborne's official statement of his disaster, which I enclose herewith. He had happily reached Phoolagee and what is now to be done I cannot say, but no means shall be wanting to form in re-inforcements. I hope Lord Auckland will approve my suggestions that the Dragoons should proceed, as well as the other military arrangements which I have proposed. Major-General Brooks has just arrived here on his way to Sukkur. I am much mistaken if he will not have much to do, and I wish he were at his post now, because at the Dussera I look for some outbreak from the Sikhs. I have had no letters from Sir W. McNaghten, owing I suppose to the disturbed state of the country, but a private letter has been received stating that Arthur Conolly was nearly assassinated by one of the Chiefs beyond Bameean on his way on his mission to Khiva, and that he saved himself under the cover of a violent hailstorm. Lieutenant Cameron, who commanded his escort, was killed with many of his men. Dost Mahomed being at Kholaum, this speaks ill of his pacific intentions. Our news from China is very slow in coming—by the last accounts they do not seem to have done much in the Canton River.

Ever yours,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

112.—J. LOCH, ESQ.,
etc., etc.

DAPOOREE, *25th September 1840.*

MY DEAR LOCH,—This mail takes accounts of the disaster of Major Clibborne's detachment in his attempt to relieve the post at Kahun. I fear they will now have to be left at the mercy of these ferocious rascals the Murrees, fine gallant fellows. Foreseeing the coming troubled times, I took upon myself to send in the Monsoon, by our steamers, re-inforcements to Scind, which happily landed at Karachee without accident, or I might

have paid dear for my temerity. But the effect of their arrival all over the country has been admirable.

Your gallant nephew with his Poonah Horse has been severely wounded in this affair of Major Clibborne's, but the accounts I have this day state that he is out of all danger. His conduct is spoken of in terms which must be highly gratifying to his parents and family, and I beg you will let them know what a fine fellow they have for their son. Clibborne's defeat has been complete. He has, however, reached Phoolagee in the plains with the loss of 200 men, his guns, stores, convoy, and treasure and all his followers, saving only his colours. It was the elements that caused this disaster—the total want of water—and I am by no means satisfied that there was not treachery in the guides.

We are all active and awake here, and it will not be our fault if our enemies do not get a sound dressing. But you know we have had nothing to say to Scind and are not responsible for what has been going on there. But for months past I have earnestly written to Lord Auckland, expressing my fears and opinions, feeling persuaded that the Sikhs are at the bottom of all these disturbances, and at last I dared to act on my own judgment with regard to the re-inforcements. I must refer you to Bayley for details. Our communications for the next few months will be very interesting.

Believe me,
My dear Loch,
Ever sincerely yours,
(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

We have lost five officers—four killed in action and one from fatigue.

113.—THE RIGHT HON'BLE SIR JOHN HOBHOUSE, BART., M.P.
etc., etc., etc.

DAPOOREE, 27th September 1840.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—I know not whether this letter will get through Egypt in the present state of our relations with the Pacha. If the steamer, by which it goes, hears at Aden that war is proclaimed, she will come back with the news.

My last letter will have told you that our N.-W. affairs are not in so satisfactory a state as my former letters might have led you to expect. I must refer you to the secret despatches for which I cannot well contrive to write in a private letter. In those letters is contained the intelligence, which I derive from numerous correspondents, as well as that which reaches me through official channels. We have anticipated all the re-inforcements, which Lord Auckland has just desired us to despatch to Scind, and in addition have ordered another troop of Horse Artillery to proceed, directly it can be equipped, and tonnage procured to convey it to Karachee. Besides this we have warned two squadrons of Dragoons for the same service ; by the time they can be ready we shall hear from Lord Auckland.

The following are the corps which have been actually sent by our steamers, and their arrival at such a season, I am told, has had an admirable effect all over the country :—

25th Regiment Native Infantry	} These corps went by the steamers.
21st Do. do.	
8th Do. do.	

6th Regiment Native Infantry *en route* from Deesa to Hyderabad.

A wing of H. M. 41st Regiment to Karachee to relieve the remaining wing of H.M. 40th ordered to Sukkur is in addition under orders to march, immediately that carriage is procured.

1 Troop Horse Artillery to Bombay to embark for Karachee.

1 Troop Horse Artillery	} To follow the route of the 6th Regiment overland.
3 Regiments Native Cavalry	
2 Squadrons Dragoons under order for service.	

Had I my own will, I would send the whole of the 4th Dragoons, and form a strong force at Quetta. It is very clear to me that what with the Sikhs and the encouragement which the advance of a Russian force will give to the disaffected, we cannot, for years to come, leave Affghanistan without a force as large perhaps as that by which it was conquered, or we had better abandon it altogether. I forgot to mention in the

foregoing numeration of troops that the company of Artillery at Bhooj will proceed forthwith to Scind, and that we have completed the artillery in that province to its full complement of officers and men.

I have now to mention the disaster of Major Clibborne's detachment in Beloochistan. I enclose some correspondence from Major Outram, to which I beg your particular attention. The details of our reverse I have given to the Secret Committee. I would ask you to read the Major's letter to Mr. Colvin and to draw your own inferences. I have not considered the force now collecting as absolutely necessary to put down the Murrees, but with reference to the Sikhs and our position in Affghanistan. Dost Mahomed is at Khoolum, having given out that he made his escape from Bokhara, and expectations have been entertained that he will come in, but I doubt his having pacific intentions. Captain Arthur Conolly only escaped assassination by flight beyond Bameean on his mission to Khiva and Kokan under cover of storm of hail, and Lieutenant Cameron and many of his escort were killed. Some correspondence has been intercepted from the Sikhs by Sir Alexander Burnes, the particulars of which I have given to the Committee. I received the intelligence from the Lieutenant-Governor of Agra, and it is worth your attention.

I enclose for your perusal at your leisure some communications I have had from Sir Alexander Burnes and Major Rawlinson at Candahar. Sir John McNeill knows the latter well. They will give you some idea of the present state of Affghanistan, though *privately* sent to me. I have not very lately heard from Sir W. McNaghten. I hope you will approve of what I have undertaken to do with reference to the re-inforcements ; it was a time of intense anxiety to me, particularly as to its being the season of the monsoon, but thank God all has turned out well, and the season is now open.

I have nothing very particular from Aden except that Captain Haines states that a squadron of French ships of war is expected in those seas. We ought to have some Naval assistance or shall be very much exposed in the event of a French

war, which I hardly look for. We must do our best with the means we have. I shall be at, or close to, Bombay by the time the next packet arrives, which at the earliest may be by the 5th of October.

The news we have from China is not very decisive. I send you copy of letter from Captain Blake, dated 30th June, from Macao.

I am happy to tell you that, by a letter from Major Wilkinson at Nagpore, the Nepalese have completely succumbed, and all chances of war with them are at an end.

I have been much worried about the orders regarding the absence of Governors from the Presidency ; Madras is not a parallel case. I am not a day's journey from Bombay, and as Poona is the headquarters of the Commander-in-Chief, it was fortunate I was here in the present bustle. This I know from experience, that if compelled to live in Bombay at all seasons of the year I shall either lose my life, or be compelled to quit the country a wretched invalid. Besides what inconvenience has been experienced by my temporary absences? Has there been no good by my appearance amongst the people in the Deccan? They require a watchful eye and frequent personal intercourse.

This is all the news I have to give you on the present occasion. I wish on the whole it had been better.

Believe me,
Yours very truly,
(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

Sir T. Wiltshire from great sickness goes by this steamer, and he is a great loss to us. General Brookes, appointed to the command at Sukkur, has just arrived from his command at Mhow on his way to Upper Scind.

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

114.—SIR W. G. MCNAGHTEN, BART.
etc., etc., etc.

DAPPOOREE, 30th September 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,—I had yesterday the pleasure to receive your letter of the 25th August. You will perceive that we

have made the best exertions to throw in reinforcements into Scind. A wing of the Queen's 41st is embarking to relieve the remaining wing of the 40th at Karachee; two complete troops of Horse Artillery and a regiment of Native Cavalry are preparing to march. Besides the company of Artillery at Bhooj, in addition I have two squadrons of Dragoons under orders, and they will be ready by the time I can get sanction from Bengal. I purpose also sending the 20th Regiment Native Infantry from Bhooj. Our great difficulty has been procuring carriage and followers, who on this side are very averse to service on the Indus. The above force, in addition to those in Lower and Upper Scind, will form when assembled an army equal to that of Lord Keane when he left Bombay, with the exception perhaps of European Infantry, which I have ordered to be held in readiness. The foot artillery in Scind has been completed in officers and men.

The plot which we have so long anticipated begins now to develope itself. It was not for the want of earnest representation, both from you and myself, and it can hardly be said that we have been acting in ignorance. I hope Lord Auckland will not now hesitate with the Sikhs, who would bring heaven and earth together for our destruction and at the same time make the most plausible professions of good faith. I would immediately demand the surrender of the country west of the Indus, and this could but produce a war, which is inevitable, if it has not already commenced by the Sikhs themselves in conjunction with Dost Mahomed. A Sikh war would be popular amongst the Affghans, and they should be employed upon it as far as possible. It will find something for them to do in these turbulent times. I would suggest the removal of the Dost's family to India, Jubber Khan and the whole of them who are in Affghanistan for no good.

I question the policy of making any terms with the transfer at Khelat. We should reconquer the place and he should be made to surrender at discretion before we come to any arrangement. Shah Newary Khan has turned out a pusillanimous fellow and unworthy of any confidence. A determined course appears the more urgent after

this sad reverse of Major Clibborne's in his attempt to relieve Kahun. We should not I think fritter away our means by detachments, nor enter upon any operation till our troops are assembled, but I give my opinion with great submission to you and it is a great satisfaction to find that the conduct of the coming campaign is committed to your direction.

Let me know what you want from this Government and it shall be provided if it is to be had. We are anxiously looking for some accounts from Egypt to say whether the Pacha is at war and our communication, in consequence, with England suspended.

Major-General Brooks is at Bombay to-day and will immediately be off for Karachee. I believe he will be found a good man and that he is of a good temper. What a pity that at such a time Sir T. Wiltshire has been compelled to go home.

Believe me,

Yours most sincerely,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

115.—THE RIGHT HON'BLE S. MCKENZIE,
etc., etc., etc.

DAPOOREE, 30th September 1840.

MY DEAR MR. MCKENZIE,—It has indeed given me sincere pleasure to hear by your letter of the 5th that your health is so perfectly restored, and my best wishes attend you for its continuance. Your letter for Mrs. Stewart McKenzie went yesterday with my packet for the steamer which will start to-morrow morning. I hope there will be no interruption in Egypt, but it is very uncertain whether we are at peace with the Pacha, judging by the last accounts. The French cannot be so mad as to quarrel with us on such an account, but I should tell you that they are to have a squadron composed of a frigate and 6 or 8 smaller vessels of war in the Red Sea and we have not a man-of-war in the Indian Seas. I despatched the information to the Admiral in China. We are in some sort of difficulty in Upper Scind and affairs look very unsatisfactory in Affghanistan. I have been for the last month and more in some anxiety of mind in pouring in reinforcements by our steamers

which appear to have astonished the people considering the season of the year. I am sending off more on my own responsibility, as there is not time to refer to Bengal. You will have seen accounts of the reverse sustained by Major Clibborne's detachment in the newspapers. This and Khelat will give confidence to our enemies, and I am much mistaken if we have not much to do to the northward in the ensuing season. I suspect we shall want all the aid we can get from our neighbours, but if so you will of course hear from us officially.

Believe me,

Yours most sincerely,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

116.—W. BOYD, ESQ.

etc., etc.

KHANDALLA, 4th October 1840.

MY DEAR BOYD,—I have been so incessantly occupied in these stirring times that I have not found time to answer your letter with that consideration which its importance deserves.

I confess I much regret that you have re-opened the discussion respecting the reform of the contingent. You have evidently misunderstood the state of the question when you assumed charge. It was not optional with the Guicowar to assent to or refuse the measure. It was as much a demand on the Guicowar as any of those that have been complied with, and unfortunately it is the one almost in which our own interests are directly involved. Although the demand originates in an article of one of our treaties with the Guicowar, it has not been pressed upon him solely in virtue of any treaty. The Government acted under the impression that as Syvagee had disregarded all treaties, we had a right to impose the terms on which we would become reconciled. The reform of his House was, as far as we are concerned, the most important of these, and was forced on the notice of the Government in consequence of the repeated instances in which Syvagee failed to keep his promises to maintain them in efficiency. The renewal of the discussion cannot fail to embarrass us. You

should in fact in this case have given Syvagee the same answer you did on the Gunputtee question. As, however, you have received His Highness Khureeta, I imagine there remains for us but one course, namely, to refer the subject to Bengal for further instructions, as the orders about the contingent were made by the authority of that Government.

By your last official letter Syvagee appears to have stood on his position with reference to the treaty of 1817, forgetting all along that he is not in a position to talk about treaties after having placed himself almost in the character of an enemy to the British Government, and that, in the last resort, he had subscribed a document agreeing to comply with all the demands it made on him. We were thus not absolutely called on to make the demand for the House in subject of negociation. He denies having assented to Mr. Sutherland except by *jabburdustee*. This he might say to all he has done, and will do so if he finds the least opening. I am afraid you have not formed a correct estimate of Syvagee's real character. It requires time to fathom it, for with no inconsiderable degree of talent and peculiar plausibility of address and manner, he resembles the late Peishwa in these respects, more than perhaps any native, I have had intercourse with excepting, may be, the ex-Rajah of Sattarah. I would suggest to you, therefore, to be on your guard in all your negociations with him, and to receive his courtesies *cun grano salis*, for it has been his system to be all profession and humility to serve his purpose, and, having attained it, to stick at nothing in what he says or dares to do. He talks to you of treaties. By what treaty was Petland taken possession of, or by what treaty will it be given back? With regard to our demand about the House, if such a thing is listened to in Bengal, it can be but out of consideration to unoffending individuals who, Syvagee states, will be so grievously injured.

There is another point on which I must offer a comment. He tells you most sacredly that he has no intercourse with Veneeram. This may be abstractedly true in his own person, but how is it that he retains in his confidence and immediate employ those who were the confidential adherents of Veneeram?

If he were sincere those men ought by his own inclination to have been removed. They I fear will bring him into trouble again do what I will, which may be very serious still.

I have made a proposition to the Board about the attendance of our troops at the Gunputtee and Dassera festivals, and it has passed. It is that you and the troops should attend at some intermediate spot unconnected with the ceremony by way of compliment to the Guicowar himself, on his passing to and fro, and that the usual salute be fired on the occasion. Beyond this it is not in my power to offer anything, and this is only to be done after our relations with the Guicowar are placed on a satisfactory footing. When can I get the information called for many months ago as to the pecuniary obligation on account of our Bhanderries?

I know now when I can come to Baroda. We have all been obliged to move down to this place to be ready to be in Bombay in a few hours, and all unite in kind regards to you.

Believe me,

My dear Boyd,

Most sincerely yours,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

117.—HIS EXCELLENCY

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR T. M. MCMAHON, BART, K.C.B.

etc.,

etc.,

etc.,

etc.

KHANDALLA, 5th October 1840.

MY DEAR SIR THOMAS,—I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt this morning of your letter of yesterday, and I am sure you will give me credit for sincerity when I assure you that I shall always be anxious to support you as Commander-in-Chief of the Army. At the same time, I must candidly state it to be my opinion that, constituted as the Governments of India are, the services of every officer must be at the disposal of Government, without reference to any subordinate authority, although in ordinary cases I should wish to consult you before withdrawing any officer from his regiment to ascertain if there

was any military objection. I followed this course in the instance alluded to by you of the staff of Major-General Brooks.

I do not know what may be the practice in other parts, but in India General Officers have been usually permitted to nominate their own personal staff, not of course as a matter of right but of courtesy. General Brooks named to me the officers he wished, and I at once proposed them and the nomination has, I presume, been concurred in by our colleagues in Bombay. I was not aware that an application on this score should be made to Government through the Adjutant-General. I rather think, however, that Government alone should determine whether a Brigade Major should be allowed to the General or not. I submitted on a precedent brought to my notice on the service under the present Sir Lionel Smith.

I am happy, however, to be able to inform you that I yesterday proposed that Captain Rowland's appointment should be cancelled, in other words that General Brooks should not have a personal Brigade Major. This alteration of plans had, however, no reference to our correspondence on the subject, but was founded on a letter I have received from the Governor-General, stating that the Sukkur force will be divided, one portion to serve above the Bolan Pass under General Nott, the other below under Major-General Brooks. This, therefore, makes it impossible to give the latter a personal Brigade Major.

I hope you will have a favourable journey and that I shall see you for an hour. We have just had here a thunderstorm.

Believe me,

My dear Sir Thomas,

Yours most sincerely,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

WALTER K. FIRMINGER, B. D.

Art. V.—THE DUTCH IN MALABAR

being a Translation of two manuscripts in the record rooms of the Madras Government.

BY A. GALLETTI, I.C.S., THE REV. A. J. VAN DER BURG, SS J., AND THE REV. P. GROOT, SS.J.,
with an Introduction and Commentary

BY A. GALLETTI, I.C.S.

(Concluded from page 48.)

INTRODUCTION.

X.

THE civil and military administration was elaborately organised in the Dutch settlements. They had many Courts, Committees, Institutions. The Directors of the English Company long held the Dutch system up as a model to their subordinates, the chief offices in their settlement and sometimes their designations were borrowed from the Dutch system. In the early days the advisability of imitating the Dutch was freely acknowledged, and many Dutchmen were induced to enter the English Company's service. So in 1687 Governor Yale of Madras (afterwards founder of Yale University) having sent the Directors "a book containing the Dutch methods," they observed that they had found in it "not much more than some of us understood before of their affairs, but as there appears in this great wisdom and policy.....we recommend to you the frequent reading and consideration of what is contained in these papers, which the oftener you read, the

The civil and military administration.

more you will discover the wisdom of those persons who contrived those methods.....*our design in the whole is to set up the Dutch Government among the English in the Indies (than which a better cannot be invented)* for the good of posterity, and to put us upon an equal footing of power with them to offend or defend, or enlarge the English dominion and unite the strength of our nation under one entire and absolute command subject to us ; as we are and ever shall be most dutifully to our own sovereign " [who was ousted for a Dutchman the year after !]. " But this distinction we will make that we will always observe our own old English terms, *viz.*, Attorney General instead of Fiscal, Alderman instead of Sepin, Burgesses instead of Burghers, Serjeants instead of Baillies, President and Agent instead of Commander, Director or Commissary, etc." ¹

What especially provoked the admiration of the English Directors in the Dutch conduct of affairs was that they placed administration before trade. " The wise Dutch," wrote the Directors in 1689, " in all their general advices that we have seen, write ten paragraphs concerning their government, their civil and military policy, warfare, and the increase of their revenue, for one paragraph they write concerning trade." ²

Such citations might be multiplied and it was not only the governing body of the English Company that felt the superiority of the Dutch in the seventeenth century. An early instance is afforded by a plaintive remark of the English factors at Pulicat about the Dutch in a letter dated the 26th of July 1622: " thus in every quallitye they goe beyond us " ³ and a letter by the

¹ General Letter, 28th September 1687. *apud* Wheeler. I have compared the original in Fort St. George records, Despatches from England. Vol. 8, pp. 203-4.

² Bruce III. 78.

³ Foster's English factories in India, 1622-3, p. 107.

observation of the traveller Fryer (1674): "I should mightly blame them [the English Company] should they prove ungrateful to His Majesty, who by his gracious favour has united them in a Society, whereby they are competitors for Riches (though not Strength) with the Noted'st Company in the Universe."¹

The organisation of the Dutch Company was ^{Organisation of the Company in Holland.} briefly as follows.² In Holland it was organised in "Chambers" at the various ports from which ships sailed for the East. Just as the Netherlands themselves were a loose confederation of several states, so the Company was a confederation of the Chambers of Amsterdam, Middleburg, Rotterdam, Delft, Hoorn and Enkhuizen. Each chamber fitted out its own ships and kept its own accounts. The chambers supplied directors to the Company. Their number was 60: 20 for Amsterdam, 12 for Middleburg, 7 for each of the other chambers. The governing body of the confederacy of chambers was a Committee of Seventeen members, commonly referred to as the Seventeen, the Majores, the Principals, etc. Of the 17, 8 were appointed by the Chamber of Amsterdam, 4 by Middleburg, 1 by each of the smaller chambers and 1 in rotation by Middleburg, by Rotterdam and Delft taken together, and by Hoorn and Enkhuizen taken together. The Seventeen sat for six years at Amsterdam, for the next two years at Middleburg. They gave orders to the Government in India, fixed the number of the ships to be fitted out by each chamber, settled the date of sales of products. They only met three times a year as a rule, but special sub-committees were appointed to prepare drafts of the General letters to India and for other

¹ Fryer's New Account, 1698, p. 87, writing in January 1674-5.

² I here follow Klerk de Reus mainly for the organisation in the Netherlands.

purposes. The drafts were sent to the several Chambers so that they might instruct their representatives among the Seventeen regarding them before that Assembly met.

The Government in the East consisted of a Governor-General and a Council. The Governor-General began by being simply the presiding member ; but he soon acquired large powers. Valentijn, who published his eight folios on the East India Company in 1726, writes as follows.¹ "The power of this Heer is very near that of a King ; though he is only President of the Council, and as it appears at first sight, bound by the votes of the other members, he can always be master if he uses his power." In 1617 it was laid down in Instructions that the Council should consist of 9 members besides the Governor-General, the first a commercial expert, the second a man fit to command the fleet, the third the army, the fourth to be also Advocate-General (Fiscal) and a jurist, the fifth to be Director-General for the out-factories, the remaining four, who could seldom be present at headquarters, Governors of the Moluccas, Amboina, Banda and Coromandel. The Governor-General had a casting-vote and the power to settle what office should be held by each of the members. In 1626 the number of the ordinary members of Council was reduced to 8, of whom 4 with the Governor-General at Batavia, and power was given to appoint two extraordinary members. In 1641 the number of ordinary members at headquarters was again raised to 5, in 1646 to 6. Later the Director-General, who was the mercantile, as the Governor-General was the political, head of the Company in the East, was expressly declared Second in

¹ Valentijn IV (1), 262.

Council and provisional successor of the Governor-General in a vacancy. The members of Council all belonged to the politico-mercantile service of the Company. No professional military member was ever appointed till the year 1786 when the Colonel (Commander-in-Chief) was given a seat in Council, the lowest, and allowed to vote, but only in military matters.

This Council was practically sovereign in the East. The Seventeen could interfere little and only at long intervals. They attempted occasionally, but only occasionally, to exercise control by the appointment of Commissaries or of Independent Fiscals, who combined the offices of a Comptroller-General of Finance and Public Prosecutor, and were as their designation implies independent of the Supreme Government.

This was the Council, Haar Hoog-Edelheden or Their High Nobilities, as they were styled at Batavia, under whose orders the Commandeurs of Cochin stood like other Chiefs of Out Settlements.

The Services The officers at all stations belonged to one or other of various organised services.

(1) The *Political service* had also mercantile functions. There were various grades, apprentice, junior assistant, assistant book-keeper, under-merchant, merchant, upper-merchant, with at their head in each settlement a Governor, Commandeur, Director, Resident or Chief. They lived largely on private trade or recognised commissions, perquisites and allowances, but the pay of their posts, according to which they ranked, was usually during the greater part of the period of the Company's rule—Governor 200 guilders a month, Commandeur 120 and 150-180 (Malabar), upper-merchant 80-100, merchant 60-70, under-merchant 40, book-keeper 30, assistant 24-26, junior assistant 16-20,

apprentice 9-10 (a guilder a month may be taken as about the equivalent of a pound a year). The allowances were in the form of provision allowances, house-rent and free supplies of provisions. They may be taken as usually about doubling the pay. The chief commissions at Amboina under Regulation of the 31st of May 1755, were 5 per cent. on cottons, etc., to the Governor and Second in Council between them, and 20 per cent. on cloves, of which 20 per cent. $\frac{40}{100}$ ths went to the Governor, $\frac{13}{100}$ ths to the Second in Council, $\frac{6}{100}$ ths to the Fiscal, and so on for other members of the political service and the chief members of the military and naval services. The commissions were very valuable. At Amboina, commissions being worth less than elsewhere, the Governor's pay was raised by 6,000 rix-dollars (£1,300) in 1755, yet in that year his commission on cloves alone came to 6,322 rix-dollars, while the Second in Council's commission on cloves was over £400, the Fiscal's over £200, an under-merchant's over £100, the purser-marine's £70, etc.¹ The post of Governor of the North East Coast of Java was reckoned to be worth £20,000 sterling a year² and the Director in Bengal told Stavorinus that his household expenses came to Rs. 35,000 a year.³ In Bengal, as also at some other settlements, a great deal could be made by the private trade which the Company allowed its servants to undertake or by illicit private trade. Valentijn had heard of under-merchants and book-keepers in Bengal chartering vessels of 200 or 300 lasts (tons) under the name of Danes, etc., to trade with the Maldives. He also tells a story of an official who

¹ Wilcocke's Stavorinus II., 378-382.

² Wilcocke (1798) at p. 131, Vol. II. of his translation of Stavorinus.

³ Wilcocke's Stavorinus I. 504.

owed "a certain Heer of the first rank" 10,000 rix-dollars which he could not pay. The Heer got him appointed to Bengal as Director. In a very few years he had not only paid his debt but had made so much that at his death he left 300,000 rix-dollars (about £60,000).¹ Another gentleman, who was Director in Persia from 1704 to 1706, made in those three years £270,000 for the Company and not less for himself "without in any way acting contrary to the interests of his masters."²

The system in Malabar is explained by Moens.³ Regulations were drawn up under which prices were fixed for works or goods, not too narrowly, and the subordinate officer charged with execution or provision was expected to make what he could. The Governor and his Second in Council had had to be content with the profits of private trade permitted to them. Moens was dissatisfied with this partly, as he says, because the interests of the Governor might clash with those of the Company, and other abuses might result, but also, I imagine, because not enough could be made at Cochin. He got the Company to take over the old private trade of the Governor and Second and to give them instead 5 per cent. on sales of merchandise and 3 per cent. on pepper bought, the Governor getting 4/5ths and the Second 1/5th. I have examined the accounts⁴ for the year 1779-1780 and find that the Company's profits on the old private trade amounted to 18,902 guilders in that year, while the commission of the Governor and Second under the new system amounted to 27,383 guilders. The office of Commandeur or Governor of Dutch

¹ Valentijn V. (1) (1), 176.

² Valentijn V. (1) (1), 204.

³ P.

⁴ MS. No. 1136.

Malabar, though not one of the more lucrative appointments in the service, may be taken to have been worth, with salary, allowances and commissions, at least two or three thousand pounds a year. It may here be mentioned that the proper designation of the office was *Commandeur*, and that a *Commandeur* ranked below a Governor (the Governor in Ceylon had *Commandeurs* subordinate to him at Jaffna and Galle), but that Moens was entitled to the style of Governor as being also an extraordinary member of the Council of India.

The establishments were somewhat larger in Stein Van Gollennesse's time than in Moens'. We have a complete list of them drawn up when Stein Van Gollennesse handed over charge to his successor in 1743 A.D. (MS. No. 358). The Malabar Coast Command then consisted of one fortified town, Cochin, four fortresses, Quilon, Cranganore, Chetway and Cannanore, two ruined forts, Castella and Palliport. The Dutch maintained military posts at eleven other places including Alleppey, Ayacotta, Cheramangalam, Paponetty and Ponnani. They also had commercial factories at Purkad between Cochin and Quilon and at Basrur in Canara. Cochin and Quilon were the really important posts. Cochin had an establishment of 1,233 men of whom 767 were Europeans and Quilon of 903 men of whom 332 were Europeans. There were also 40 pensioned Europeans at Cochin. The garrisons of course made up the great majority of these numbers and in 1743 they had been reinforced on account of the war with Travancore. Including Eurasians and natives the total number of the employees was 2,819. The total number of Europeans was 1,426. Of these only about 80 belonged to the political service. At Cochin the members of the political service were the

Commandeur, the Second-in-Council, who was an Upper Merchant, 6 Under-Merchants, 15 Bookkeepers, 24 Assistants and 19 Apprentices, or 66 in all. At Quilon there were nine members of this service, at Cannanore four. At Basrur there were two Residents, at Purakad one, at Ponnani one.

In Moens' time the dependencies of Cochin were reduced to four, Quilon (fortified), Cranganore with Ayacotta (both fortified), Kayenculam (unfortified), and Purakad (unfortified). Vingorla (fortified) had already been given up before Stein Van Gollenesse's time. Cannanore (fortified) had been sold in 1771 to a local chief. Chetway (fortified) had been taken by Hyder Ali. European residents were no longer maintained in some stations which had at one time or other been occupied by Dutch factors¹ The members of the political service in Malabar numbered 48, of whom 43 were stationed at Cochin, two at Quilon, one each at Cranganore, Kayenculam and Purakad.²

The duties of the service lay the Warehouse and Storehouse, the Treasury, the Zoldy Comptoir or Pay Office, the Negotie Comptoir or Trade Office, and the Political Secretariat. The political Government was constituted in much the same way as at Batavia. The Commandeur was assisted by a Council composed of members of the political department and the head of the military, and nominally, as at Batavia, the President was only *primus inter pares*. In 1743 there were nine resident members of Council besides the President, in 1761 seven. The Second-in-Council, also entitled the Hoofd-Administrateur or Chief-Administrator, took the place of the Director-General at Batavia and was in special

¹ So in 1761 Tengapatnam was a Residency (MS. No. 674) and we have seen that Ponnani was a Residency in 1743.

² MS. No. 1136.

charge of commercial affairs. The Major or Captain in command of the garrison seems always to have been third in Council. The Fiscal, the Warehousekeeper, the Paymaster and the Storekeeper also seem always to have been members.¹ Members had the title of "Edele," Honourable. The general title of the subordinate members of the political service was "administrator." They were divided into grades as elsewhere according to their seniority. They were members of Courts of Justice ; one of their number was Fiscal (Advocate-fiscal) or Advocate-General. They might also be members of the Fire and Ward Committee, the Church Committee, Committees for education (the Scholarchs) and for the administration of the orphan-fund, the poor fund, the leper-asylum, etc. A political council might exist in factories subordinate to the chief factory of a settlement. Quilon was sufficiently important in Stein Van Gollennesse's time to have its Council, and the correspondence of the Cochin Council was then addressed to the "Chief, the Lieutenant and the Council of Quilon."² At the end of the century letters were still addressed to the Chief and Council of Quilon or else to "the Under Merchant and Chief and the Commandant," but the Under Merchant, an Ensign and a Surgeon seem to have been the only superior officers stationed there then.³

(2) The Dutch Company attached great importance to the *Ecclesiastical Service*. There were two grades, Predikant or Preacher,⁴ and Krankenbezoeker or Ziekentrooster (Visitor, comforter⁵ of the Sick) who

¹ See e.g. MS. Nos 358, 674, 1320.

² MS. No. 705.

³ MS. No. 1179 cf Forbes' Oriental Memoirs edition of 1834, I. 212 : "the next morning (in 1772) we arrived at Quilon, or Coulan, another Dutch settlement ; it was formerly a large town belonging to the Portuguese with extensive fortifications ; these are now destroyed ; the churches are converted into warehouses, and the European inhabitants reduced to a factor, surgeon and a small garrison."

was something between a Church clerk and a deacon. At Amboina the Preacher ranked fourth after the Governor, the Second and the Captain (Valentijn). Education and religion were not separated in those days, and the Preacher was also President of the Committee of Scholarchs and head of the educational department (which in some stations employed numerous teachers, chiefly Eurasians) in subordination to the political Authority. The preacher and deacons were encouraged and instructed to learn the vernacular of the place in which they were stationed and in Malabar also Portuguese. A certain amount of missionary effort, especially among the Roman Catholics, was expected of them. The Preacher's nominal salary was 90 rising to 120 guilders a month at outstations, 110-150 at Batavia. A deacon got 24-26 guilders ; a schoolmaster 7-15. But these officers also received allowances. The emoluments of a Preacher at Batavia are thus reckoned up in Valentijn, IV (1) 247 :—

	Guilders a year.
Salary at 130 guilders a month...	... 1,560
Provision allowance at 24-18 guilders	... 298-16
House-rent at 12-38 rix-dollars...	... 368-8
Butter, 24 lbs. a month ...	... 172-16
Wine, 13 large quartets (kan=about 1 1/3 quart) a month...	... 280-16
Candles, 14 pounds a month ...	... 100-16
Firewood ...	... 113-8
Lisbon oil, 4 quarts a month ...	... 86-8
Cocoanut oil, 6 quarts a month...	... 14-8
Dutch vinegar, 4 quarts a month	... 14-8
Water ...	... 14-0
Language allowance (1) for Portuguese	... 48-0
Do. (2) for Malay...	... 48-0

Total ... 3,140

guilders, 4 stivers, or something under £300 sterling a year

Both in 1743 A.D. and in 1781 A.D. the establishment at Cochin consisted of a Preacher and two Deacons. Two of the Preachers of Cochin, the Rev. Philip Baldaeus, a famous orator according to his contemporary, Schouten, and the Rev. J. Canter Visscher, published works dealing with Malabar, which I have frequently had occasion to cite. The Preacher Casearius assisted Van Rhee in turning the *Hortus Malabaricus* into Latin. The encyclopædist, Valentijn, who has also been so frequently quoted, was also a Preacher in the Company's service. He seems, however, never to have served in Malabar and his account of the Malabar settlements is superficial.

(3) In the military service of the company at the beginning of the 18th century, the grades were Serjeant-Major (at Batavia), 120 guilders a month, Chief Engineer (at Batavia), 140, Captain 80-100, Captain-Lieutenant 70, Lieutenant 50-60, Ensign 40, Serjeant 20, Corporal 14, Private 9.¹ In 1753 higher grades existed.² The head of the Company's forces was then a Brigadier on 350 guilders, a Colonel drew 250, a Lieutenant-Colonel 200, a Major, 150, a Captain 80. The chief officer of the Malabar garrison had usually the rank of Captain (sometimes Major) was a member of the Political Council and might be a member of judicial benches or administrative committees. In 1437, for instance, he was a member of the Bench of Justices and President of the Court of Wards as well as third member of the Political Council.³ In 1761 the Captain held these same posts and was also a Director of the Hospital.⁴ The sanctioned (peace) strength of the

¹ Klerk de Reus, p. 110.

² Klerk de Reus, App. III.

³ MS. No. 358.

⁴ MS. No. 674.

garrisons he commanded was in Stein Van Gollennesse's time 678, of whom 300 at Cochin, 99 at Quilon, 56 at Cranganore, 144 at Chetway and 79 at Cannanore.¹ The actual strength was 976 Europeans and about 1,100 Malays, Eurasians and natives, or altogether more than 2,000.² When the policy of taking part in the wars of the native princes was finally abandoned in 1753 the sanctioned strength was reduced (9th of May 1755)³ to 462, of whom 226 at Cochin, 96 at Quilon, 33 at Cranganore, 74 at Chetway and 33 at Cannanore.⁴ In 1769 the actual garrison at Quilon consisted of only 27 men, at Chetway of only 43.⁵ In the time of Governor Moens a somewhat larger garrison had to be maintained owing to the attitude of Hyder Ali of Mysore, though the fort at Cannanore had been sold and that at Chetway lost. In April 1781 the total number of infantry is given as 1,182, of whom over 400 [the last two figures in the original manuscript are lost] Europeans, and of the artillery as 84.³ Lists dated the end of December 1780³ show that the European garrison then numbered 393, and Malay, Eurasian and Native troops 643 and that this garrison had been reinforced by detachment from Ceylon numbering 298; 882 of the men were at Cochin, 310 at Ayacotta, 92 at Cranganore and 50 at Quilon; total 1,334. In 1787 the sanctioned strength was 828, but the actual numbers were 1,361 of whom 679 natives; in 1788 the actual strength with auxiliaries from Ceylon was 1,901, of whom 410 European infantry, 71 European artillery, 120 topasses, 321 Malays, 56 Malabar

¹ See p.

² MS. No. 358.

³ MS. No. 1136.

⁴ MS. No. 593.

⁵ MS. No. 855.

artillery, 612 Malabar infantry (chogans), 149 Malabar sepoy and 162 foreign sepoy.¹ By 1793 Cranganore and Ayacotta had been sold to the King of Travancore and it had again been resolved to reduce the garrison to a peace footing. The garrison of Cochin was to be 550 infantry and 50 artillery. Of the artillery men 30 were to be Europeans, of the infantry 300 in two companies, there being one other company of Malays and one other of Natives. The pay of the 600 men worked out to 83,889 (heavy) guilders or about £7,000 a year. The officers were to be 1 Captain, 1 Captain-Lieutenant, 4 Lieutenants and 6 Ensigns for the two European companies ; 1 Captain, 2 Lieutenants and 1 Ensign for each of the other companies ; and a Captain-Lieutenant, a 1st Lieutenant and a Sub-Lieutenant for the artillery.²

The members of the Political, Naval and Artisan services were also, sometimes at any rate, formed into companies under officers of their own class. So in 1761 the Political Company was commanded by the Second in Council with the rank of Captain, the Paymaster was the Ensign and there were 45 other members ; there were two companies formed by the artisans and one by the sailors ; there was also a company of 142 "burghers," that is independent civilians.³

(4) In the *Naval Service* the ranks were Commandeur or Chef d'Espadre 120 guilders a month, Captain-at-Sea 100, Captain-Lieutenant-at-Sea 80, Skipper 60, Lieutenant 48. Common seamen got about 8d. a day or a pound a month. On shore the Chief maritime officer at each settlement was the Equipagie-meester, port officer, master-attendant, or as the English

¹ MS. No. 1146 and 1299.

² MS. No. 1425.

³ MS. No. 674 ; cf also Batavia Diary, 1653, p 41.

Company called this officer "purser marine." At Cochin there was only one maritime officer who combined the shore and sea commands, and the settlement only possessed two sloops and a few smaller vessels in Moens' time, whose uses in war and peace are described in his Memoir. The number of men in the maritime service at Cochin in 1781 was 128, of whom 45 were Europeans.¹ In 1743 it was considerably greater; 186 Europeans were employed and about 40 natives.²

(5) The grades in the *Medical Service* were Surgeon General at Batavia (Hoofd der Chirurgie) 80 guilders a month, Upper Surgeon, 45-63, Surgeons, Under and Third Surgeons 14-30. In 1743 the Company employed eleven medical men in Cochin, four at Quilon, one at Cannanore and three with troops.³ In 1780 there were two Upper Surgeons in Malabar, two Surgeons and nine Under and Third Surgeons.⁴ Of these medical men 8 were stationed at Cochin, 3 at Ayacotta and one each at Quilon and Cranganore.

(6) The Dutch settlements had a well-developed European *Artisan (Ambagt) Service*, as it was called, though we should hardly call some of the members of that service, e.g., an Inspector of Fortifications, or Superintendent of the Press, artisans now. At Cochin this service consisted of 113 Europeans in 1743 A.D. of whom 32 attached to the Armoury, 34 to the Fortifications and 37 to the Shipyard, besides a few more in the out-stations and natives.⁵ In Moens' time the establishment was smaller; it consisted of some 40 men in all, of whom 10 were Europeans. Some of them

¹ M.S. No. 1136.

² M.S. No. 358.

³ M.S. No. 358.

⁴ M.S. No. 1136.

⁵ M.S. No. 358.

were employed in the shipbuilding yard under a Superintendent, others were smiths, masons, carpenters, gun-carriage makers.

The heads of the various departments were styled Baas (boss) and were important officials. In 1743 the Bosses of the Armoury, the Fortification Works and the Shipyard were all members of the Fire and Ward Committee and the last named was also a deacon.¹

Institutions.

The various courts and institutions are described or referred to by Stein Van Gollennesse (chapter III) and Moens (chapters XVII and XVIII). It will be seen that the question of the separation of judicial from executive functions was one even then agitated, and that the administration of justice and charity was fairly well developed. There was a Bench of Justices, a Court for Small Causes and Matrimonial affairs, a Court of Wards, a Board of Education, a Board of Guardians, an Orphanage, a Hospital, a Leper Asylum, a Ward and Fire Committee and a Church Committee. The Bench of Justices consisted of the Second in Council as President, the Fiscal and eight or nine other senior members of the political or military services. The Court of Small Causes was presided over by the Warehousekeeper in 1743 and 1761 and consisted of seven members besides the President. In 1743 the Captain of the Topasses, Silvester Mendes, was a member. The members of the Court of Wards in 1748 included the Chief Surgeon of the Hospital and a Sergeant. It was presided over by the Military Commandant and consisted of eight members.

Commerce.

The commerce of Cochin is described fairly fully by Moens (chapters XII and XIII). The Company's local trade in the few

¹ M S No. 358.

articles in which it maintained a monopoly, though small, was very profitable. I find from the accounts of the year 1779-80¹ that in that year merchandise the invoice value of which was 110,063 guilders was sold for 277,081 guilders or at a profit of about 150 per cent. The profit on the separate branch of trade, which had formerly been in the hands of the Governor and Second in Council in their private capacity and was not monopolised, was from Rs. 14,000 to Rs. 23,000 a year from 1773-4 to 1779-80 and averaged Rs. 18,300. The cost of purchases and all expenses in this branch of trade amounted to about a lakh and a half of rupees a year and this profit was a mere 12 to 14 per cent.² The Company did not usually care to undertake trade in articles on which the profits were not enormous and only took over this branch at Cochin in special circumstances which have been explained above. Both in its European and its local trade the Company's policy was to obtain a monopoly of a few very valuable articles and fix its own price. The trade in other articles remained free or free under restrictions and the Company's officers were allowed and encouraged to take their share in it. It gave Mr. Moens pleasure to see every servant of the Company doing his little bit of trade. The total trade was considerable. James Forbes (1766-1784) says: "I have occasionally resided there (at Cochin) several weeks when transacting business for the East India Company: it was a place of great trade, and presented a striking contrast to Goa; a harbour filled with ships, streets crowded with merchants, and warehouses stored with goods from every part of Asia and Europe, marked the industry, the commerce, and the wealth of the inhabitants."³

¹ M. S. No. 1136.

² Letters to Batavia in M.S. No. 1154.

³ Forbes' Oriental Memoirs, edition of 1834, I. 207.

The Dutch settlements in Malabar were maintained principally in order that pepper, on which the profit was very large, might be collected for the European market. The amount of pepper collected by the Company varied in accordance with its relations with the native princes, from whom it obtained the spice at rates very much below the market value. In the year 1726 A.D. 1,952,979lbs. were despatched from Malabar.¹ In 1746 it was not possible to collect more than 541,189lbs.² After 1753, when peace was made with Travancore, more pepper was again obtained. Travancore himself delivered 1,200,000lbs. on an average from 1753-6. Between the 1st of October 1755 and 30th of September 1756 the amount of pepper collected from Travancore was 1,494,451lbs., from Cochin 533,505lbs., at Cranganore 21,181lbs., at Cannanore 153,000lbs.; total 2,202,837lbs.³ From 1778 to 1780 the amount collected averaged something over a million pounds, of which almost the whole was supplied by Travancore. The amount for 1778 was 1,136,000lbs.,⁴ for 1779 1,199,000, for 1780 1,060,000lbs., of which Travancore supplied 1,002,000. Pepper was sold in Holland in the 18th century at three to five times the price—less than the market rate even there—which the Dutch paid in Malabar. The equivalent of £12,000 to £18,000 sterling would buy in Malabar a million pounds of pepper which would be sold in Europe for the equivalent of £50,000 to £80,000 after deducting wastage. Other products were sent home from Malabar, turmeric, cardamoms, cloths, cowries, but only in small quantities and at moderate profits⁵

M.S. No. 147.

M.S. No. 593.

M.S. No. 593

M.S. No. 1134.

Letters from Holland and printed price-lists sent with them to be found in
M.S. Nos. 137, 745, 1134.

The local revenues, which consisted of small territorial revenues, customs, excise and tolls and the profits of trade other than the European trade were usually insufficient to cover the expenses. The Company's trade profits were not large. The territorial and other revenues amounted in 1741-2 (in time of war) to 43,484 light guilders or Rs. 25,840 (at 16 rupees = 2/ guilders) of which 9,000 from Quilon, 9,000 from Province Papponetty and 12,000 from other lands and islands.¹ In 1755-6 they were 70,516 guilders of which 13,000 from Quilon, 15,000 from the Province, 17,000 from other lands and islands.² In 1779-80 in the time of Moens, after the loss of the Province and the sale of Cannanore, the revenues were 54,984 guilders (or Rs. 45,570 at 5 rupees = 6 guilders). In that year the total of the nett trade profits (162,604 guilders) and the revenues (54,984 guilders) was 217,639 guilders (Rs. 181,365), while the total charges, including 119,000 guilders charged to preparations for war with Hyder Ali, 46,000 to fortifications, 30,000 to ships, 129,000 to salaries, and so on, amounted to 377,918 guilders (Rs. 314,932).³ The year before the charges had been higher—490,000 guilders (Rs. 4,08,333), but the revenue had also been higher, trade profits having been larger and had amounted to nearly 415,000 guilders (Rs. 3,45,833).

When Stein Van Gollenesse wrote the charges were abnormal on account of the war with Travancore. They amounted to 1,216,333 light guilders (a little over 7 lakhs of rupees) in 1741-2 and to 869,265 light guilders (a little over 5 lakhs) in 1742-3, the revenue being

¹ See p.

² M.S. No. 593, 1151.

³ M.S. No. 1136.

320,000 and 340,000 guilders (about 2 lakhs).¹ Twenty years earlier, in time of peace, the only Dutch factory on the West Coast which showed a profit was Basrur, there being a loss of nearly 200,000 guilders on Cochin, 17,000 on Quilon, 8,000 on Cannanore and 800 on Puracad.² From 1760 to 1768 the revenues and charges about balanced as is shown in the table in the third section above. But as has been explained already these are merely the local accounts, the accounts of trade with Europe being kept separately ; and the Dutch did not maintain the Malabar Settlements so much for the sake of the local revenues and trade as for the European trade and especially the pepper trade.

XI.

The relations of the Dutch at Cochin, Quilon and Cannanore with the English, first at European rivals. Purakad, then at Anjengo and Calicut and afterwards Tellicherry and Anjengo were friendly or otherwise according to circumstances. The Dutch began with pretensions to a monopoly of the trade of the Coast. In 1663 they concluded a treaty with the Prince of Purakad, who granted them a trade monopoly and they then contended that the English factory at Purakad had no right to further supplies, and eventually enforced their contention by seizing the factory.³ In 1714-17, while the Dutch were at war with the Zamorin, there was some trouble about an English "house" at "Chittoa" (Chetway). The Zamorin had disputed the Dutch claim to Chetway but had given them "a writing that since he

¹ M.S. No. 357.

² Accounts of 1724-5 in M.S. No. 148.

³ (a) Batavia Diary, 1663 to 1665. See above p. 12.

(b) Forest's Bombay Records, Home Series, I., 27.

would not permit them he should not permit any other European nation a settlement there." Now the English had a house there which was "the Hon'ble Company's house but went in the Linguist's" [Eurasian resident's] "name."¹ In the campaign of 1717, when the Dutch occupied Chetway, the King of Cochin, who was assisting them, "went to the place where the English had a flagstaff together with a house, both of which he had pulled down by his Nairs."² Meanwhile Mr. Adams, Chief of Calicut and then of Telli-cherry, seems to have given what assistance he could to the Zamorin.³ The feeling between Dutch and English seems to have been bitter at this time. At any rate Canter Visscher devotes one of his letters from Malabar (1717-23) to an attack upon the English, whom he accuses of ill-conduct towards the natives both in Malabar and Sumatra and declares to be exceedingly unpopular with them. He describes the massacres of Bencoolen and Anjengo as the natural results of English oppression. These are imputations commonly made in similar circumstances; when one European nation attacked another in the East the position of deliverer of the Malay or the Indian from the oppression of the rival Europeans was not only morally elevating but implied hopes of native assistance. So we find the Portuguese Viceroy writing to his King in 1635 that if only he would send him troops, he would easily get the better of the Dutch "since they were everywhere cordially hated, and only succeeded in carrying on

MS. Diary of Stephen Strutt, 1714. A deed of the Zamorin's dated 1715 permitting the English Chief, Mr. Adams, to build a warehouse at Chetway is printed in Logan's *Treaties*, p. 3.

¹ MS. Diary of the Campaign under date 28th January 1717.

² (a) Dutch Diary of the Campaign.

(b) Reference in Tellicherry Diary of 1743-4, p. 67.

trade by means of the forces at their disposal,"¹ while in 1781 after war had been declared against Holland, the Governor of Fort Malborough wrote to the Governor of Fort St. George that the Dutch Government was everywhere "abhorred" by the country people and he was persuaded that the appearance of ships alone at some settlements would occasion a revolt.² The English factors on the Coast at the beginning of the 18th century were too weak to be very oppressive, and the proper inference from the Rev. J. Canter Visscher's denunciations seems to be only that they were very disagreeable to the Dutch ; and indeed when the forts at Anjengo and Tellicherry were built at the end of the 17th century, it was intended to break up the Dutch practical monopoly of the pepper trade ;³ and, the wish being father to the thought, it was even reported in 1699-1700 that "the Dutch were withdrawing their factories and establishments on the Malabar Coast, having found it impossible to engross the whole of the pepper trade of that country."⁴ The Dutch did not, however, abandon the Coast, where for nearly another century they probably did a bigger trade than any of their competitors, Portuguese, English, French or Dane. Cochin was moreover a most useful intermediate port between Batavia and Surat, Mocha and Persia. They could not wish to see it fall again into Portuguese hands, or into English or French hands (as it doubtless would have if they had abandoned it), not only on account of the pepper trade but because it was an outpost of Ceylon and a port in which a hostile fleet could be conveniently collected for an attack on that island.⁵ But though they did

¹ Danvers, II. 243.

² Bengal Selections, 1772-85, p. 843.

³ Bruce III., 194, 205.

⁴ Bruce III., 313.

⁵ Canter Visscher, Letter VI.

not abandon the Coast, the competition of other European nations could not but be displeasing to them, and disputes about the non-return of deserters,¹ about the grant of passes to native ships, about supplies of war material furnished to native princes, and so on were common. In 1756 I find the Dutch Commandeur still complaining about the "jealousy" of European rivals which was "nothing new," about the Danes at Calicut furnishing the Zamorin, who was again at war with the Dutch, with powder and shot and seven cannoneers, and about the English "who are only precariously established at Anjengo" requiring native ships to take passes from them.²

However, the town diaries show that foreign European ships constantly put in at Cochin. Mr. Stephen Strutt of the English Company's service was courteously received at Cochin in 1714, James Forbes, also a member of that service, who kept journals in India from 1706 to 1784, writes in his *Oriental Memoirs*³ that during his visits to Cochin on his Company's business he always received the kindest attention from the Governor and the principal inhabitants, whose tables were furnished with hospitality and graced with politeness, and when Tellicherry was besieged by Mysore troops in 780, Mr. Moens wrote courteous letters and complied with requisitions for supplies.⁴ On the 24th of February 1782 I find the Anjengo Chief suggesting an attack on Cochin which he thought "would prove an easy conquest,"⁵ but England had declared war on Holland in Europe on the 20th of December 1780 and the news had been received in the East by July 1781.⁶

¹ *e.g.* see p. ?

² M.S. No. 593.

³ Edition of 1834, l. 207.

⁴ Tellicherry Diary, 1780; letters dated 5th and 23rd December 1780.

⁵ Anjengo Diary, 1782.

⁶ (a) M.S. No. 1134; (b) Bengal Selections, p. 772.

In general there seems to have been peace, but not often friendliness between the Dutch and other Europeans on the West Coast in the 18th century. They would intrigue against one another with native princes, supply one another's enemies and harbour one another's deserters. The different European settlements would only very occasionally unite against a common enemy. So there was one joint expedition during the century of English and Portuguese¹ against pirates and another of Dutch and English (1750).² If Moens assisted Tellicherry against the Mysoreans, it must be remembered that the Dutch also were at variance with Hyder Ali. Ten years later when, in 1790, Tippu broke through the Travancore lines and the Dutch expected to be besieged in Cochin, they proposed to join the English alliance with Travancore, but received a long and evasive reply from Lord Cornwallis and Council, politely declining their help.³ However, in the ensuing May I find Colonel Hartley in command of a detachment from Bombay writing : " Having a greater quantity of stores and ammunition than is immediately wanted in the field, I have made a depôt at Cochin, the Governor, Mynheer Angelbeck, readily offering every assistance "⁴

XII.

Stein Van Gollennesse and Moens both seem to have been officials of some merit. At any rate each of them reached the second position in the Dutch Empire in the East, that of Senior Ordinary Member of the Supreme

Stein Van Gollennesse
and Moens and their
times

¹ Danvers II., 390.

² M S. No. 519.

³ Secret Resolution of 2nd August 1790 in M.S. No. 1320 ; Lord Cornwallis' letter is dated 15th January 1790.

⁴ Military Consultations, Vol: 133, in the Fort St. George Records.

Council at Batavia and Director-General. After leaving Malabar, Stein Van Gollennesse was Governor of Ceylon and extraordinary and then ordinary member of Council from 1743 to 1751. He went to Batavia as Director-General in 1751.¹ Moens went direct from Cochin to Batavia, served as ordinary member of Council there and became Director-General in due course.²

Stein Van Gollennesse lost a girl of seven and a boy a year old at Cochin in 1739. They were buried in the Church of St Francis, where the inscription may still be read. The boy was called Gustaaf Willem, which were the Christian names of Van Imhoff. Stein Van Gollennesse is associated in Ceylon with the building of Wolfendal Church, Colombo,³ on the façade of which his initials and the date 1749 are still to be seen.⁴

I have found occasional mention of Moens in travellers' books of the period. Stavorinus stayed with him for a fortnight in December 1776, and he gave Fra Paolino di San Bartolomeo a letter of introduction to the King of Travancore in 1780. Fra Paolino notes that the King of Travancore "had studied English for several months and spoke it very well." The King of Cochin who succeeded in 1787 "spoke Dutch exceedingly well and was desirous of learning English also." Travancore and Cochin had already in Moens' time realized that Dutch influence was giving way to English. In 1786 the King of Travancore paid a visit to Moens' successor, Van Angelbeck, at Cochin. He conversed in the English language and it is noted that "he reads the English newspapers of London, Madras and Calcutta whereby he has acquired much knowledge which would

¹ Antonise, Report on Colombo Records. P. 46.

² Signatures to Batavia. Letters in the records.

³ Antonise, p. 32.

⁴ Cotton, p. 269.

be sought in vain in other Malabar princes.”¹ Van Angelbeck’s “Memoir,” written in 1793, contains very little, except an account of the Dutch relations with the English ; the Dutch no longer pretended to influence in Travancore and scarcely in Cochin, they had sold all the territory they could get rid of including the forts of Cranganore and Ayacotta to Travancore or the Cochin noble Palyat Achan between 1785 and 1789 A.D.,² reduced their garrison at Cochin to a minimum footing and when war with England broke out again in 1795, the capture of Cochin was an easy matter. The war with England of 1781 to 1784 had practically destroyed the Dutch Company’s influence outside the Archipelago, the Cape and Ceylon and financially ruined it. In 1795 Holland was divided against itself. The French revolution had overwhelmed the Netherlands and the fugitive prince, William V, had taken refuge in England and in a circular issued from Kew, exhorted his late subjects to place their Colonies under the protection of Great Britain.

Stein Van Gollennesse’s Memoir describes Malabar as it was when it might still have become a Dutch possession and the Dutch were still much more powerful there than any of their European rivals, gives a brief but clear account of the numerous warring principalities among which it was then divided, and throws light upon the Dutch policy and ambitions of the time. Mr. Moens, though he wrote when Dutch influence had waned and though he does not appear to have been a man of much cultivation, has yet left us a work of much real interest and value. He confesses his

¹ Notes of the Interview in MS. No. 1299.

² Secret Resolutions in MS. No. 1322, especially resolution of 20th July 1789, where the draft of the Treaty for the sale of the forts is given. A summary of the various sales, nine in number, is given in letter to Batavia of 30th April 1790 in MS. No. 1299. The sales realised about five lakhs of rupees.

ignorance of the French¹ language, and of the fact that the learned world was not without information regarding the history of Christianity of Malabar.² He had perhaps too not a very strong sense of humour and from the remarks made by the Batavia Council on the Judicial portion of the Memoir³ it would seem he was not a great jurist. But he seems to have been a very earnest and laborious gentleman and his discursive Memoir, besides giving a fairly complete view of the administration when Dutch rule in Cochin was nearing its close, contains interesting chapters on Hyder Ali, the Jews of Cochin, and the Syrian Christians. The facts related about Hyder Ali's relations with the Dutch and some of the Malabar princes seem to be new ; at any rate Wilks has no better authority for his few pages on the subject than the defective chapter on the history of the Malabar settlements in Stavorinus' travellers' book and the latest biographer of Hyder Ali scarcely refers to it. Other attempts have been made since Moens time to translate the ancient Jewish charter ; but the three translations he gives are not without their interest. Books have since been written on the Syrian Christians, but the proof that certain of their bishops really came from Antioch having been conveyed from Persia in a Dutch ship, may be of some importance. Moens had studied the Cochin records carefully and gives numerous references to the papers from which he compiled different portions of his memoir. It accordingly contains among other things a storehouse of references which will be useful to persons who may wish to study the history and administration of the Dutch settlements in Malabar at first hand.

¹ P.

² P.

³ MS. No. 1434.

Brief Bibliography.

A. Books necessary to a student of the subject :—

(1) *Batavia Diary*.—Daghregister gehouden int Casteel Batavia. Printed at the Hague. In progress. The following volumes have appeared :—

Volume for					Published in
the Year					the Year
1624-9	...	...	...	...	1896
1631-4	...	...	...	...	1898
1636	...	...	...	...	1899
1637	...	...	...	...	1899
1640-1	...	...	...	...	1887
1641-2	...	...	...	...	1900
1643-4	...	...	...	...	1902
1644-5	...	...	...	...	1903
1647-8	...	...	...	...	1903
1653	...	...	...	...	1888
1656-7	...	...	...	...	1904
1659	...	...	...	..	1889
1661	...	...	...	...	1889
1663	...	...	...	...	1891
1664	...	...	...	...	1893
1665	...	...	...	...	1894
1666	...	...	...	...	1895
1668-9	...	...	...	...	1897
1670-1	...	...	...	...	1898
1672	...	...	...	...	1899
1673	...	...	...	...	1901
1674	...	...	...	...	1902
1675	...	...	...	...	1902
1676	...	...	...	...	1903
1676	...	...	...	...	1904
1677	...	...	...	...	1904
1678	...	...	...	...	1908
1679					1909

Contains abstracts of despatches from all parts of the Dutch possessions, India, Ceylon, Japan, China, as well as the Archipelago.

Invaluable to the historian.

(2) *T. K. J. De Jonge*: *De Opkomst Van het Nederlandsch Gezag in Oost Indie* (Rise of the Dutch Power in the East) The Hague, 13 vols., 1862-88.

A collection of documents from the Company's archives, with a full introduction to each volume, deals almost entirely with Java. A supplement in three more volumes by P. A. Tiele and E. Heeres (1886-95) deals chiefly with the other islands in the Archipelago. Their lost possessions do not seem to interest the Dutch much. Collections relating chiefly to the Cape, India or Ceylon would be of great interest to students of the history of the British Empire.

(3) *Francois Valentijn*: *Oud en Nieuw Oost Indie* (Old and New East India). Dordrecht and Amsterdam, 1724-26, 5 parts folio usually bound in 8 vols. Encyclopedic account of the possessions of the Dutch Company. A work of vast bulk containing amongst other things many excerpts from old official documents. The account of Malabar is superficial, but the account of Ceylon contains valuable reports on, *inter alia*, Malabar, made by Governors of Ceylon, under which Malabar at first stood. A modern abridgment of Valentijn issued by one Keijzer in 1862 is useless for our purposes as the parts dealing with lost possessions are omitted. The old edition contains maps and also views and plans of Cochin, Quilon, Cranganore and Cannanore. Valentijn was son of the master of the Latin school at Dordrecht

and was born on the 17th April 1666. He studied at Utrecht and Leyden and in 1684 was appointed a chaplain in the East India Company's service. He started for the East in May 1685 and arrived at Amboina in May 1686. In 1687 he was transferred to Banda, in 1688 back to Amboina. In 1695 he was back in Holland. He remained in Holland 10 years and returned to Batavia in 1705. In 1706 he was chaplain to the army on the East Coast of Java. From 1707 to 1712 he was again chaplain at Amboina, in 1713 at Batavia, in 1714 back in Holland. He died in 1727. His book is a most comprehensive work and still indispensable to the student.

(4) *J. Canter Visscher*: Letters from Malabar, 1743. The letters were published by his brother after death. The author was chaplain at Cochin from 1717-1723 and then at Batavia. He died in 1736. English translation by Major Drury, Madras, 1862. A series of 27 letters on politics and policy, the people, the coinage, flora and fauna. Much of the information reads as if it were taken from Memoirs of the old Commandeurs. The author seems to have been a little prejudiced and uncritical, but his local knowledge is valuable.

(5) *Encyclopædie Van Nederlandsch-Indie* (Encyclopædia of Netherland-India), by P. A. Van der Lith and others; the Hague, 1895-1907; four volumes. A valuable work with much information on the antiquities of the Dutch Company. The lost possessions are, however, as usual, scarcely referred to.

(6) *G. C. Klerk de Reus*: Geschichtlicher Ueberblick der Administrativen, Rechtlichen und Financiellen

Entwicklung der Nederlandisch-Ostindischen Compagnie, Batavia and the Hague, 1894. Valuable work on the administrative, financial and judicial development of the Dutch Company with numerous statistical tables.

Useful Works.

(1) *Johan Nieuhof*: Zee-en-land Reize (Sea and Land Journey), 1682. Nieuhof served in Malabar. Translation in Churchill's Collection.

(2) *Father Giuseppe di Santa Maria*, otherwise Monsignor Sebastiani, Bishop of Hierapolis. First and second expeditions printed at Rome (in Italian) 1666 and 1672 A.D. Was a Carmelite and sent out on special missions to the Syrian Christians (1657-58 and 1660-3). Describes the two sieges of Cochin and gives many particulars regarding the Syrian Christians, etc.

(3) *Philippus Baldæus*: Description of Malabar, Coromandel and Ceylon, 1672. Translation in Churchill's Collection, which preserves the valuable prints. Accompanied the expedition against the Cochin of 1661-2 as Chaplain.

(4) *Wouter Schouten*, Oost-Indische Voyage (East Indian Voyage), 1676. Surgeon in the Company's service. Accompanied Cochin Expedition of 1661-2. There are several editions and a French translation. My references are to the edition of 1740.

(5) *S. P. J. Du Bois*: Vies des Gouverneurs-Generaux avec l'abrégé de l'histoire des établissements Hollandois aux Indes Orientales. The Hague 1763.

Uncritical. Contains a translation of Van Imhoff's Considerations of 1740.

(6) *J. S. Stavorinus, Voyages* (a) 1768-71, published at Leyden in 1793, (b) 1774-8, Leyden 1797-98. Combined in translation with notes by S. H. Wilcocke, London. 1798. Stavorinus visited Cochin in Moens' time.

(7) *The Abbé Raynal: Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements des Européens dans les deux Indes*, 1770. Numerous editions; English versions 1776 and 1798 (6 volumes).

(8) *Fra Paolino di San Bartolomeo. Viaggio alle Indie Orientali* (Voyage to the East Indies). Rome 1796. Uncritical. He was in India 1776-1789. English translation 1800.

(9) *Dr. F. Day. The Land of the Permauls, Madras*, 1863. Untrustworthy. Two or three of his most dubious anecdotes are taken from a pamphlet entitled Historical Notices of Cochin by the *Rev. T. Whitehouse*, 1859.

(10) *Manuscript Diaries* of Tellicherry and Anjengo (from 1726 and 1744 respectively with breaks) in the Madras Government's record-room. Also manuscript Diary of Mr. Stephen Strutt, 1714.

(11) *Glossaries*: Yule and Burnell (Hobson-Jobson) and Maclean (Vol. III. Manual of the Madras Administration) are useful for words taken from the eastern languages by *both* Dutch and English, but are of course Anglo-Indian and not Hollando-Indian glossaries and leave many of the Indian or Malay words which occur in these Dutch records unexplained.

Brief Note on Coinage and Weights.

(Further information in footnotes to the text.)

When the Dutch first came to the East they found the Spanish dollar (real, real of eight, weight 27.045 grams = about 417 grains) in general use. They used this at first, and afterwards substituted the rix-dollar. Dollars are in general large silver coins of about 50*d*. to 60*d*. In Stein Van Gollennesse's time the rix-dollar was 48 stivers or pence in the East. The common Bengal bazaar rupee and other rupees current at Cochin (*e.g.* the Persian) were there reckoned 27 stivers, the Sicca and Surat rupees being a stiver or two more. The rix-dollar was the standard coin. Other coins with rough values in rix-dollars and rupees are shown in the table below, the values being taken from actual entries in Dutch or English (Malabar) records of the time. The rupee was of course worth much more gold than it is now. It was reckoned at 8 to the pound sterling in the Tellicherry accounts of 1743. The values are *rough* because the exchange value was constantly changing and the fluctuations were large. So I find gold Rupees (or Gold Mohurs) selling at Batavia at prices varying from $21\frac{1}{4}$ to $25\frac{1}{2}$ guilders in the course of the ten years 1730-40.¹ This seems to have depended partly on variations in the coin itself. The value of weighed gold did not fluctuate quite as much in those years.

*Table.**Gold Coinage about 1740 A.D.*

1. Gold Rupee or Mohur = about $7\frac{1}{4}$ rix-dollars
= about 13 silver rupees.
2. European gold ducat
("Venetians" and others) = about $2\frac{1}{3}$ rix-dollars
= about $4\frac{1}{6}$ rupees.

¹ MS. No. 322.

3. Moorish gold ducat

(Turkish and others)=about $2\frac{1}{4}$ rix-dollars
=about 4 rupees.

4. Pagoda (of Ikkeri and other West

Coast Mints)=2 rix-dollars or a little less
= $3\frac{1}{2}$ rupees or a little less.

The ducats and pagodas were nearly the same weight, a little under $3\frac{1}{2}$ grams=a little over 50 grains. The ducats were better gold and about a grain heavier. According to Shekleton's Assay Tables ducats of 1781-91 average 53.44 grains, of which 52.326 pure, Ikkeri pagodas 52.4 grains, of which 44.3 pure and Travancore pagodas 52.46 grains, of which 37.3 pure.

Silver Coinage about 1740 A.D.

1 Rix-dollar	=	8 schellings
	=	48 stivers
	=	192 doits
	=	$1\frac{7}{8}$ ths rupees
	=	32 Cochin fanams
1 Rupee	=	27 stivers
	=	$4\frac{1}{2}$ schellings
	=	$\frac{9}{16}$ ths rix-dollars
	=	18 Cochin fanams.

Dollars, of which the various rix-dollars were some of several varieties, weighed as a rule more than double the rupee, but contained a little less than half the amount of pure silver.

Base Metal Coinage about 1740 A.D.

1 Cochin fanam = 60 buseruks (budgerooks).

The fanam was originally a gold coin of about 6 grains. The Cochin fanam only contained one part of fine gold to $4\frac{1}{2}$ of silver and $4\frac{1}{2}$ of copper.¹ Budgerooks were minted by the Dutch of a mixture of lead and tin. The Dutch also minted copper budgerooks of which

275 went to the rix-dollar at Cochin according to Valentijn.

The guilder or florin, which was used in keeping the accounts, was properly a silver coin of 20 pence or stivers weighing about 150 grains or $\frac{5}{6}$ ths of a rupee. In Stein Van Gollennesse's time it was reckoned in the accounts at 16 stivers or one-third of a rix-dollar and this imaginary account guilder, which was devised to enable the Company to make a profit on salaries, etc., was called the "light" guilder. In Moens' time the guilder of the general accounts was the heavy guilder of 20 stivers.

The price of gold at Batavia, 1730-40, was from 50- $\frac{7}{20}$ ths to 53- $\frac{15}{20}$ ths "light" guilders per real (417 grains); of silver 3- $\frac{7}{20}$ ths to 4- $\frac{2}{20}$ ths guilders; *i.e.*, the ratio of gold to silver was about 13 to 1.

In Moens' time (1780) the rupee was in more general use. It was reckoned in the general accounts at $\frac{6}{5}$ ths guilders, otherwise at about $1\frac{1}{2}$ guilders. Dollars were about 2 rupees, Venetian and other European ducats slightly over 4 rupees, "Moorish ducats" slightly under. The Cochin fanam was reckoned at 20 to the rupee instead of 18.

Weights.—The pound commonly referred to in these records seems to have been, as elsewhere in the Company's possessions, the old Amsterdam pound = 494 chilogrammes = about 1.09 English pounds avoirdupois. A Dutch pound of 1.09 English pounds was still in use at Cochin in Dr. Day's time (1863).¹ The common *last* or ton was 3,000 Dutch pounds. Other common weights are the *catti* and *picol* introduced from the Archipelago. The Dutch usually reckoned

¹ Day's *Land of the Permauls*, p. 577.

the catti at $1\frac{1}{4}$ and the picol at 125 lbs. They also used the common Malabar measures *candy* and *parra*, reckoning the pepper candy at 500 Dutch pounds, and in the earlier period at any rate, 14 parras to the candy. For grain 75 parras were reckoned to the last of 3,000 pounds. The pepper candy was accordingly about 545 English pounds. The grain parra was 40 Dutch pounds.¹ For raw cotton and cotton cloths the Travancore and Madura weight *palam* was used. It varied slightly according to locality, but was reckoned at about $\frac{1}{6}$ th of a Dutch pound.² Goldsmiths' weights were then as now in Travancore the *kalanju* and the *fanam*. The Dutch used the Spanish *manca* and *real*. In a diary written in Travancore in 1739 the following equivalents are given: 1 manca = 48 kalanjus—9 reals.³ A real was 27.045 grams⁴ or about 417.368 grains. 1 kalanju accordingly = $78\frac{1}{4}$ grains. The modern Travancore kalanju is 78 grains and 13 fanams of 6 grains each.⁵ The old Travancore fanam was about $5\frac{1}{2}$ to 6 grains, as the old fanam coins show, and accordingly it may be assumed that there has been practically no variation in goldsmiths' weights in Travancore since 1739. It is to be observed that though gold fanam coins seem all to have weighed about $5\frac{1}{2}$ to 6 grains, they varied greatly in value according to their composition.⁶ The Quilon fanam, referred to commonly by both Portuguese and Dutch as the Raja fanam, must have been good gold as its

¹ Authorities (1) Valentijn IV. I. 362, (2) Enc. Neder. Indie, (3) entries in the Madras Dutch records, e.g., MS. Nos. 741 and 1066. MS. No. 1054, p. 177 where we have 363,900 lbs. = 9,097 $\frac{1}{2}$ parra.

² MS. No. 281.

³ MS. No. 281.

⁴ Enc. Van Neder. Indie article Maten en Gewichten.

⁵ Travancore Manual.

⁶ Cf. Shekleton's Assay Table, Calcutta, 1868.

value is given in 1723 as $2\frac{1}{8}$ shellings¹ (= 15 stivers), in 1743 as $14/128$ rix-dollars² (= $153/8$ stivers), in 1781 as $15-9/25$ stivers and $64/125$ of a rupee.³ The coin referred to as "the gold fanam" of Chetway and the neighbourhood, which is shown by entries in MS. No. 848 and elsewhere to have been the Calicut fanam, was reckoned at 8 to the rix-dollars ($4\frac{1}{8}$ to the rupee) in 1742⁴ and later at about five to the rupee or $17\frac{1}{2}$ to the pagoda and so could only have contained three grains of gold. The Travancore gallion (kaliyan) fanam was reckoned at 9 to the rix-dollar ($5-1/16$ to the rupee) in 1727⁵ and exchanged later at 6 or 7 to the rupee; the Cochin fanam, in which there was only about half a grain of gold, at 18, $19\frac{1}{2}$, 20 to the rupee at different times.

¹ Canter Visscher.

² P. below.

³ MS. No. 1158.

MS. No. 357, Letter to Holland, 1742, 5,488 gold fanams = $686\frac{1}{8}$ rix-dollars.

⁵ Letter to Batavia dated 30th April 1727, in MS. No. 148, 2 000 fanam galjoons = $222\frac{1}{2}$ rix-dollars.

Art. VI.—HISTORY OF THE PRESS IN INDIA—IX.
BOMBAY—III.

(Continued from page 118.)

IN January 1857 Dr. George Buist, Editor of the *Bombay Times*, proceeded home on a year's leave of absence, and Mr. Robert Knight was appointed acting editor on his recommendation. Shortly after, the Indian Mutiny broke out. The state of the Anglo-Indian Press during the rebellion is thus graphically described by Sir George Otto Trevelyan :—

“ The tone of the (Anglo-Indian) press was horrible. Never did the cry for blood swell so loud as among these Christians and Englishmen in the middle of the nineteenth century. The pages of those brutal and grotesque journals published by Hibert and Marat during the agony of the French Revolution, contained nothing that was not matched and surpassed in the files of some Calcutta papers. Because the pampered Bengal sepoy had behaved like double-dyed rascals, therefore every Hindoo and Mussalman was a rebel, a traitor, a murderer ; therefore, we were to pray that all the population of India might have one neck, and that all the hemp in India might be twisted into one rope. It would be wearisome to quote specimens of the style of that day. Every column teemed with invectives which, at the time, seemed coarse and tedious, but which we must now pronounce to be wicked and blasphemous. For what could be more audacious than to assert that Providence had granted us a right to destroy a nation in our wrath ? —to slay, and burn, and plunder, not in the cause of order and civilisation, but in the name of our insatiable vengeance, and our imperial displeasure ? The wise ruler (Lord Canning) whose comprehensive and impartial judgment preserved him from the contagion of that fatal frenzy, was assailed with a storm of obloquy for which we should in vain seek a

precedent in history. To read the newspapers of that day you would believe that Lord Canning was at the bottom of the whole mutiny ; that upon his head was the guilt of the horrors of Cawnpore and Allahabad ; that it was he who had passed round the *chupatties* and the *lotahs*, and spread the report that the Russ was marching down from the north to drive the English into the sea. After all the crime charged against him was, not that he had hindered the butchery, but that his heart was not in the work. No one had the face to say, or at any rate, no one had the weakness to believe, that Lord Canning had pardoned any considerable number of condemned rebels. His crying sin was this, that he took little or no pleasure in the extermination of the people whom he had been commissioned by his Sovereign to govern and protect.

“ After Lord Canning Sir John Peter Grant, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, had the gratification of being the personage most profusely and fiercely maligned by the enemies of the native ; which honourable position he long retained, until of late Sir Charles Wood put in his claim, a claim which has been instantly and fully recognised. A certain journal made the brilliant suggestion that Sir John Peter, had he dared, would very likely have released the sepoys whom General Neill had ordered for execution, and then proceeded to abuse him as if he had actually so done. This hypothetical case soon grew into a fact. It was stated positively in all quarters, that Sir John Peter Grant had set free the murderers of Cawnpore with a bombastic proclamation, containing the words ‘in virtue of my high authority,’ an expression which at once discredited the story in the estimation of all who knew the man. Sir John and his high authority were reviled and ridiculed in the daily and weekly papers of England and India, in conversation, on the stage and on the hustings. Meanwhile, with native laziness and good humour, he said nothing, and allowed the tempest to whistle about his ears without moving a muscle. At length the Home Government wrote out to the Governor-General, directing him to take cognizance of the affair ; and he

accordingly requested the accused party to explain how the matter stood. Then Sir John spoke out, and affirmed that the report was a pure fabrication; that he never enlarged a single sepoy; and that, had he desired to thwart General Neill, such interference would have been entirely out of his power. Hereupon the Press in general proceeded to make amends in a full and satisfactory manner. One newspaper, however, had no intention of letting him off so easily, and put forward an apology which was exquisitely characteristic, and which probably diverted the object quite as much as it was designed to vex him. The gist of it was, that Sir John had undoubtedly been falsely charged in this particular instance, but that he was such a confirmed and abandoned friend of the native as quite to deserve everything he had got; and that no contumely whether rightly or wrongly bestowed on him, could by any possibility come amiss."

Mr. Robert Knight refused to be led away by passion and prejudice, but preserved a calm and dispassionate judgment in his writings in the *Bombay Times*; he became one of the ablest supporters of the humane and discriminating policy of Lord Canning. The fatal frenzy of the newspapers of the day obliged the Governor-General to muzzle them for a year by Act XV of 1857.

Dr. George Buist hastened out to India in nine months, and with his return the policy of the *Bombay Times* was entirely changed. He joined in the "fatal frenzy" and cried out "blood for blood." His writings were deemed so violent that steps were taken to relieve him of the conduct of the paper which was the property of shareholders mostly Indians. Dr. Buist was also one of the proprietors. At the instance of the late Mr. Nowrojee Furdoonjee,* a shareholder, a meeting of the shareholders was held on the 23rd December 1857 for the consideration of the tone of policy

* For an account, see Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography* p. 157.

which should be pursued by the *Bombay Times* in the critical state of affairs brought about by the Indian Mutiny. Mr Nowrojee was the chief speaker at the meeting, and in a long address he argued that a public journalist, the aim and object of whose writings ought to be the promotion of the welfare and happiness of the great mass of the people of this country, ought to be the last person to cast unfounded and sweeping imputations on their character ; to accuse the whole population of treachery and cruelties committed by a particular class or section of it, and to call the whole population "ferocious tigers, treacherous barbarians and cruel savages." On the motion of Mr. Nowrojee it was resolved "that the proprietors of the *Bombay Times* newspaper are of opinion that the recent articles therein published by the present editor, Dr. Buist, regarding the character and conduct of the natives of India in general, and the opinions and sentiments which the editor has therein expressed on the subject of the policy which should be adopted by Government towards the natives generally, and the treatment of which they are deserving at the hands of Government and of Europeans, are illiberal, impolitic and unjust and tend to alienate the native chiefs and Her Majesty's native subjects from the British Government, and to excite discontent and disaffection throughout British India, and are, therefore, in violation of Act No. XV of 1857. The proprietors, therefore, distinctly direct that Dr. Buist forthwith desist from the course which he is pursuing and entirely change the tone and tenor of his editorial writings in these respects, to bring them into accord with the general views and feelings of the proprietors as above expressed. And further that he be called upon at this meeting to pledge himself in

distinct terms so to do." The President, Mr. Narayan Dinathjee, on behalf of the meeting, requested Dr. Buist, who was present, to give the pledge as set forth in the above resolution, and on his declining to give any pledge whatever, it was further resolved "that Dr. Buist having declined to pledge himself to follow the directions contained in the foregoing resolution, and the meeting having reason to believe that he intends to continue the course which he has hitherto pursued, which is contrary to his engagement with the proprietors, in opposition to their views, and detrimental to the interests of the country at large, determines that Dr. Buist be forthwith dismissed from the situation of editor of the *Bombay Times*, and that the committee of directors be authorised to secure the services of another gentleman to fill the post."*

Their choice fell upon Mr. Robert Knight, and from the beginning of 1858 he became the permanent editor of the *Bombay Times*. But he found a formidable opponent in his predecessor, Dr. George Buist. The Scotchmen of Bombay held a meeting the day after his dismissal and privately subscribed capital sufficient to start another English daily newspaper ; and in January

* Mr. Robert Knight thus wrote about Dr. George Buist :— " We knew Dr. Buist intimately and have ever thought him the most clever man we have met in the course of our life. He was an Encyclopædia of knowledge on all subjects, and was a member of half the learned Societies of Europe. He failed as an editor from two causes. In the first place he was not independent, but made himself the organ of one governmental clique after another, until he had lost nearly all public respect. Thus in his violent and long continued attack upon Sir Charles Napier for his ' Conquest of Sind ' iniquitous as the conquest was, it was felt by everyone that the *Bombay Times* was rather the mouthpiece of the Government (or Willoughby) clique against the old soldier, than the upright exponent of unbiassed public opinion. In the second place, Dr. Buist had ' too many irons in the fire. ' When the *Bombay Times* had become a daily paper, he used to boast that he edited it before breakfast, and the boast was true ; but then it was editorship of the metropolitan order ; and not the editing that an Indian newspaper calls for, if it is to be successful. Dr. Buist represented in his own person for years nearly, all the public spirit of the island, and in spite of his failings and his strange aberrations in 1857-58, he was a true philanthropist and genuine friend of the people."

1858 Dr. Buist was appointed the editor of the *Bombay Standard*. Mr. Mathias Mull was made manager of the new Bombay daily. Thus in the beginning of 1858 there were four daily newspapers published in Bombay—the *Bombay Times*, edited by Robert Knight ; the *Bombay Gazette*, owned by John Connon ; the *Telegraph and Courier*, a joint-stock concern, edited by George Craig ; and the *Bombay Standard*, edited by Dr. George Buist.*

After the enactment of the Gagging Act of 1857 the Government of Bombay in June 1857 brought to the notice of the Government of India the mischievous tendency of certain articles in the native newspapers of Bombay, together with copies of minutes recorded by the Right Honourable the Governor and the Honourable Members of the Council of Bombay on the absolute necessity of putting some restriction on the freedom of the Press in India. The following is the full text of the official correspondence on the subject :—

No. 208 of 1857—Office No. 715—Secret Department.

From H. L. Anderson, Esq., Secretary to Government, Bombay, to G. F. Edmonstone, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department, Fort William.

SIR,—I am directed by the Right Honourable the Governor in Council to forward to you, for submission to the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India in Council, copy of a letter with enclosures from the Commissioner in Scinde dated the 11th instant, No. 160, bringing to the notice of Government the mischievous tendency of certain articles in native newspapers at the present time.

* A Bombay journalist thus writes :—" Mr. Knight was reviled by his contemporaries, and his writings were misrepresented ; but he held on the even tenure of his ways and wrote in the interest of the people of the country. With nearly the whole of the Press of India arrayed against him, with unfriendly neighbours trying to misrepresent all that he wrote, he stood firm to his task and wrote as his conscience dictated to him. With fearless independence he conducted the *Bombay Times* for two years and advocated the same just and humane policy towards the natives of the country which he first recommended as acting editor."

2. I am also directed to forward copies of the minutes of the dates noted in the margin, recorded by the Right Honourable the Governor and the other Members of the Government on Mr. Frere's letter.

I have, etc.,
H. L. ANDERSON,
Secretary to Government.

BOMBAY CASTLE, }
29th June 1857. }

No. 160 of 1857—Secret Department.

From H. B. E. Frere, Esq.,* Commissioner of Scinde, to the Right Honourable Lord Elphinstone, G.C.H., Governor and President in Council, Bombay.

MY LORD,—I have the honour to enclose a memo. with which Mr. Gibbs, Assistant Commissioner, has favoured me of a conversation with Shett Nowmull, a native merchant of Kurrachee, for many years favourably known to Government on account of his great intelligence, his extensive influence and connections throughout the countries on our western frontier, and his tried attachment to the British Government.

2. His opinions on the subject of the Native Press seem to be deserving of attention, backed as they are by extracts from a Hindustani paper published at Madras, which show how mischievous the articles in native newspapers often are, and how widely they circulate.

3. The extract and translations by Major Goldsmid will enable your Lordship in Council to form a judgment on this point.

4. No. I. seems clearly meant to produce an impression that the Government had attempted to defile their sepoy by flour mixed with hogs' bones, though the insinuation is very cautiously worded.

5. No. II. is a very mischievous perversion of an Indian Debate in Parliament, which in quieter times might be amusing.

6. No. III. is perhaps the most important, as it is evidence of the effort which has for some time past been made to place the Shah of Persia in the position, as regards

* Afterwards Sir Henry Bartle Edward Frere, Baronet, Governor of Bombay, 1862-1867.

Mahomedans in general, formerly held by the Sultan of Turkey. Your Lordship is aware that some of the most influential learned Mahomedans in India are Sheahs, and that the liberal measures lately adopted by the Sultan, and his manifest reliance on the aid of Christian Powers, have been triumphantly appealed to by the Sheahs, as proofs of the Sultan's heterodoxy.

7. With regard to the measures to be adopted towards the Native Press, it is easier to see the evil than to provide a remedy which shall be quite satisfactory to a distant public, taking a rather theoretical view of such questions, and not feeling a very deep personal interest in the risks which attend any abuse of the liberty of the Press.

8. Moreover, it is the ignorance of the authors and readers of such articles which really gives them their dangerous character as well as forms the difficulty in dealing with them ; for it is not easy to prevent or punish the publication in a native newspaper, of what may be a *verbatim* translation of a very harmless criticism in an English publication.

9. A poem in a Persian paper was lately brought to my notice as of a very mischievous tendency, and, as it described the signs preceding the day of judgment, in language strikingly applicable to the present time and place, it was doubtless calculated to unsettle and excite men's minds and prepare them for some sudden disturbance ; but it read so like a free translation of a sermon by a popular English preacher on the same subject as to render it rather puzzling to know what to do with it. "

10. I believe the best plan would be to have all the periodical productions of the Native Press regularly read by trustworthy persons with instructions to bring to notice any objectionable passages ; whereupon any measures which might appear necessary could be taken regarding them. At any time like the present, when productions like those enclosed would be calculated to do real harm, the ordinary courts would punish anything seditious with exemplary severity, and public opinion would fully bear them out in so doing.

11. I have taken measures which will, I hope, prevent the publication of any mischievous articles in this province.

12. Considering how timid and easily alarmed are the Hindu traders of Scinde, and that they are extremely anxious at the present moment regarding other parts of India with which they have mercantile transactions, it is satisfactory to find one of them so well acquainted with the feelings of his fellows as Shett Nowmull, express great confidence in the preservation of internal tranquillity in the midst of a Mahomedan population, as well as in the loyalty and fidelity of our Bombay native army.

I have, etc.,

H. B. E. FRERE,

Commissioner of Scinde.

COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE, }
KURRACHEE, 11th June 1857. }

Notes of a conversation with Shett Nowmull, on Sunday, 7th June 1857.

Nowmull's opinion as to the cause of the present crisis is that Persian influence is at the bottom of it.

He argues this, from the fact of the great spread of the Sheah tenets of the Mussulman religion, which has for some time (two to three years) been observable, and also from the very perceptible decrease in the rancour usually to be met with between Sheahs and Soonnis. He tells me that for the last two years there have been *coissids* regularly passing between Delhi and the Persian Court *via* Kandahar. The men sent adopted different disguises from time to time, and the letters were always secreted in the soles of the shoes or otherwise.

With regard to the Hindu portion of the army, the new cartridges have been used (perhaps through the same influence) to excite their feelings and lead them to mutiny.

He considers the Bombay army safe, but he observed that it is a fatal error to trust entirely to native troops. You must mix Europeans with them. So impressed was he with this idea, that he said he thought it was not impossible that the Punjab might still break out, owing to the irregular troops having to act so much alone. He seemed to think the active part taken by the chiefs and neighbouring rajahs as the greatest safeguard. *

He hears that it is Dost Mahomed's intention to restore Kandahar to the ex-sirdars ; he says the Dost thinks more of Persia than of England. In talking on this point, he observed that the country was thus situated :—

Persia—————Cabul—————Peshawar.

Persia is on the Dost's head, while Peshawar is under his feet."

He suggests that there should be a censorship of the Native Press. He brought me a copy of the Madras paper called the *Saobah Sádik* (published at Madras in Hindustani, dated 30th May 1857, No. 39), in which are several very questionable articles. Three of these Major Goldsmid has kindly translated for me. From No. I it will be seen that an idea is afloat that hogs' bones are being issued to the troops mixed up with the flour, and No. III. shows that the Persian Court have granted immunities to the Soonnis.

(Sd.) J. GIBBS,

8th June 1857.

Assistant Commissioner in Scinde.

NEWS OF MEERUT.—The same newspaper tells us that in the Patan Bili camp at Meerut, the same cartridges arrived on account of which the Barrackpore officers had earned a reputation (*reknami*) on the 18th or 19th of the current month ; and the flour-boxes which have been publicly stated to contain hogs' bones mixed up in them, also came. The order was that the men of the regiment should purchase the flour. On this account no one ate food and refused to take the flour or the cartridges. Though it is not right to suspect the *sircar*, as they have nothing to do with religion, yet in this business there is no doubt that, in the wisdom of the Government, they have suddenly withdrawn from kindly feeling towards the hearts (lost the hold on the people's affections ?) (of their subjects ?) It is very lamentable ; the sky kisses the earth from grief, that Mahomed Alem-u-Deen Khan, son of Sidik Shitub-u-Deen Khan, Rissaldar, died of cholera, etc., etc. [True abstract translation.] E. E.

F. J. GOLDSMID,

First Assistant Commissioner for Jagheers.

The "Jam-i-Jamsibid" of Meerut relates that, in the durbar of—the Marquis of Clanricarde complained much of the Indian Government, that a vast amount of rupees was expended among the home authorities in the way of pay, they knowing little of the circumstances of the country ; that the nobles and great men of Hindoostan were becoming extinct, and the middle classes gradually suffering damage, and poor people being ruined it would be proper that the country should be so governed that the people do not suffer. Some zillahs require a decrease of taxation, and the salt-tax is very wrong. In whatever countries there was fitting management, the latter impost had been abolished. Beside this, in Hindoostan, the system of justice was defective. Moreover, on this account, the English name suffered ; and, in Hindoostan, amid ten judges, nine are Hindoostanees, but their pay and position was unimportant and inconsistent with their duties. And the heads of the East India Company say that amid 14 crores of Hindoostanees, not one is worthy of rank or trust ; a very sad and distressing statement, enough to break the hearts of the people of Hindoostan, and cow their spirits. Besides which he said many more things in answer to which, the Duke of Argyle was unable to advance any clear arguments. [True abstract translation.] E. E.

F. J. GOLDSMID, *Major*.

No. III.

NEWS FROM HERAT:— * * * Everyone knows that in the matter of treaties, the Ameer is to be held as untrustworthy as if of hell ; and though it is useless to have friendship with such people, yet we look on him so long as his star is in the ascendant. All assist their nominal friends, and turn from one to the other. Without the orders of the Almighty a leaf cannot shake. It is said that, after the thaw, the Persian army entered Candahar. It has been heard that the Shah has given up his religious prejudices wholly. Every Sheah has been forbidden to say the "tabarra," any one doing so is to be punished. There is nothing strange in it. All

great Kings have been in the habit of so acting. [True version.] E. E.

F. J. GOLDSMID, *Major.*

[True copies.]

H. L. ANDERSON,
Secretary to Government.

MINUTES.

1. Since the commencement of the present disturbances several officers have brought to our notice the evil effect of the Native Press upon the public mind.

2. Mr. Frere recommends that all native newspapers should "be regularly read by trustworthy persons, with instructions to bring to notice any objectionable passages, whereupon any measures which might appear necessary could be taken regarding them. At a time like the present when productions like those enclosed would be calculated to do real harm, the ordinary courts would punish anything seditious with exemplary severity, and public opinion would fully bear them out in so doing."

3. I have a very high opinion for Mr. Frere's judgment, but in my humble opinion, the measure which he suggests would be altogether insufficient to check the evil which he points out.

4. Seditious articles and habitual depreciation of the character of our government, and misrepresentation of its acts, may have had their effect in alienating from us the goodwill and respect of the people or the soldiery; but at the present moment the most mischievous class of publications are the false reports of mutinies and insurrections, which I am sorry to say, are published in some of the English as well as in the native newspapers, and which have a tendency to produce panic with all its disastrous consequences.

5. To give an example of what I mean, and of the inefficiency of the measures suggested by Mr. Frere; two or three days ago an article appeared in the *Telegraph and Courier*, stating that the 25th Native Infantry, forming a part of General Woodburn's force, had mutinied, and that

200 of the men were placed in confinement. I felt convinced that the report was false, as I had heard nothing of it, being in daily communication with the Commander-in-Chief. I was quite certain that His Excellency would have informed me of the circumstance if it had taken place. I accordingly wrote to Colonel Melvill and requested him to take the opinion of the law officers whether the *Telegraph and Courier* could be prosecuted for spreading false and mischievous reports. The Advocate-General was of opinion that the prosecution of a newspaper upon such a charge was not advisable, as the editor might have been and probably was deceived, and that it would be better to contradict the report through another newspaper. It is only fair to the editor of the *Telegraph and Courier* to say that he contradicted the report himself, and published an extra for this purpose; but the mischief done by the promulgation of the lie was not effectually counteracted by its contradiction which was probably not read by half of those who had heard of the pretended mutiny.

6. It seems to me that the time is now come to enquire into the general question of the working of an unrestricted Press in this country, and that I should be shrinking from my duty if I were to withhold the expression of an opinion which has been strengthened by recent events, but which has certainly not been formed by them.

7. I do not for a moment contend that the license of the Native Press has occasioned the mutiny in the Bengal army, but still it is worthwhile to enquire whether by weakening in the mind the respect for authority, and by destroying the confidence of the sepoys in Government and in their officers, it may not have been one of the predisposing causes which have led to this event.

8. The following extract from a minute* by Sir Thomas Munro is written with a largeness of view and a forecast which entitle it to attention :—

“Were we sure the Press would act only through the medium of the people, after a great body of them should

* Written on the 12th April 1822 when Governor of Madras.

have imbibed the spirit of freedom, the danger would be seen at a distance, and there would be ample time to guard against it; but from our peculiar situation in this country, this is not what would take place, for the danger would come upon us from our native army, not from the people. In countries not under a foreign government, the spirit of freedom usually grows up with the gradual progress of early education and knowledge among the body of the people. This is its natural origin, and were it to rise in this way in this country, while under our rule, its course would be quiet and uniform, unattended by any sudden commotion, and the change in the character and opinions of the people might be met by suitable changes in the form of Government. But we cannot with any reason expect this silent and tranquil renovation, for owing to the unnatural state in which India will be placed, under a foreign government, with a free Press and a native army, the spirit of independence will spring up in this army long before it is even thought of among the people. The army will not wait for the slow operation of the instruction of the people, and the growth of liberty among them, but will hasten to execute their own measures for the overthrow of the Government and the recovery of their national independence, which they will soon learn from the Press it is their duty to accomplish.

“The high opinion entertained of us by the natives, and the deference and respect for authority which have hitherto prevailed among ourselves, have been the main causes of our success in this country; but when these principles shall be shaken or swept away by a free Press, encouraged by our juries to become a licentious one, the change will soon reach and pervade the whole native army. The native troops are the only body of natives who are always mixed with Europeans, and they will, therefore, be the first to learn the doctrines circulated among them by the newspapers, for as these doctrines will become the frequent subject of discussion among the European officers, it will not be long before they are known to the native officers and troops. Those men will not probably trouble themselves much about distinctions regarding the rights of the people and forms of Government, but they will learn

from what they hear to consider what immediately concerns themselves, and for which they require but little prompting. They will learn to compare their own low allowances and humble rank with those of their European officers, to examine the ground on which the wide difference rests, to estimate their own strength and resources, and to believe that it is their duty to shake off a foreign yoke, and to secure for themselves the honours and emoluments which their country yields. If the Press be free, they must inevitably learn all this and much more. Their assemblage in garrisons and cantonments will render it easy for them to consult together regarding their plans, they will have no difficulty in finding leaders qualified to direct them ; their patience, their habits of discipline, and their experience in war, will hold out the fairest prospects of success ; they will be stimulated by the love of power and independence and by ambition and avarice to carry their designs into execution. The attempts would no doubt be dangerous, but when the contest was for so rich a stake, they would not be deterred by the danger. They might fail in their first attempts, but even their failure would not, as under a national Government, confirm our power, but shake it to its foundation. The military insubordination which is occasioned by some partial or temporary cause may be removed, but that which arises from a change in the character of the troops urging to systematic opposition, cannot be subdued ; we should never again recover our present ascendancy. All confidence in them would be destroyed, but they would persevere in their designs until they were finally successful, and after a sanguinary civil war, or rather after passing through a series of insurrections and massacres, we should be compelled to abandon the country."

9. I was anxious to compare the opinion of Lord Metcalfe upon this subject with those of Sir Thomas Munro, and for this purpose I searched the volume of selections from his papers, which is edited by Mr. Kaye, in the hope of finding his minute, proposing the emancipation of the Press in India. I have been unable to find this minute,* but I have

* The minute of Lord Metcalfe has been reproduced in full in the *Calcutta Review*, January 1908.

discovered a passage in which Lord Metcalfe evidently gives the reasons which induced him to abolish the restrictions which existed at the time of Lord William Bentinck's departure.

“Page 197—His Lordship (Lord William Bentinck), however sees further danger in the spread of knowledge and the operations of the Press. I do not, for my own part, anticipate danger as a certain consequence from these causes. I see so much danger in the ignorance, fanaticism and barbarism of our subjects, that I rest on the spread of knowledge some hope of greater strength and security. Men will be better able to appreciate the good and evil of our rule, and if the good predominate, they will know what they may lose by a change. Without reckoning on the affection of any it seems probable that those of the natives who would most deprecate and least promote our overthrow, would be the best informed and most enlightened among them, unless they had themselves individually ambitious dreams of power. If, however, the extension of knowledge is to be a new source of danger, and I will not pretend confidently to predict the contrary, it is one altogether unavoidable. It is our duty to extend the knowledge whatever may be the result, and spread it would, even if we impeded it. The time is passed when the operations of the Press could be effectually restrained ; even if that course would be any source of safety which must be very doubtful, nothing so precarious could in prudence be trusted to. If, therefore, increase of danger is really to be apprehended from increase of knowledge, it is what we must cheerfully submit to. We must not try to aver, it, and if we did we should fail.”

10. Lord Metcalfe considers the freedom of the Press and the diffusion of knowledge as convertible terms.

11. Let us see what Sir Thomas Munro says upon this subject.

“The advocates of a free Press seek, they say, the improvement of our system of Indian Government and of the minds and condition of the natives, but these desirable ends are I am convinced, quite unattainable by the means they propose.

There are two important points which should always be kept in view in our administration of affairs here. The first is, that our sovereignty should be prolonged to the remotest possible period. The second is, that whenever we are obliged to resign it, we should leave the natives so far improved from their connexion with us, as to be capable of maintaining a free or at least a regular Government among themselves. If these objects can ever be accomplished it can only be under a restricted Press ; a free one so far from facilitating would render their attainment utterly impracticable, for by attempting to precipitate improvement it would frustrate all the benefits which might have been derived from more cautious, and temperate proceedings."

12. Again, speaking of the restrictions which he would retain, he says, "such restrictions will not hinder progress of knowledge among the natives, but rather ensure it, by having it to follow its natural course, and by protecting it against Military violence and anarchy."

13. In reading over Lord Metcalfe's papers, nothing has struck me more than a statesman who entertained such alarming, I had almost written such exaggerated, notions of the insecurity and unpopularity of our rule in this country, should have been the man to abolish a few restrictions upon the liberty of the Press which his predecessor considered indispensable ; yet Lord William Bentinck appears to have taken a far more confident view of our internal position, and was certainly not an illiberal or an unenlightened Governor.

14. With all respect which I feel for the character and ability of Lord Metcalfe, I cannot but think that when he took the great step which has procured him so much popularity among our countrymen in India, he lost sight of the connexion which ought to exist between the state of the Press and the other institutions of a country. A free Press seems to be the natural concomitant of free institutions. It is on the other hand from its very nature antagonistic to despotic rule, and above all, to foreign domination, as Sir Thomas Munro, in the minute from which I have already quoted, tersely expresses it, "a free Press, and the dominion of strangers, are things'

which are quite incompatible, and which cannot long exist together."

15. Our Government in this country can never be a popular Government in any sense of the term. It must be a despotism, tempered by wise and just laws impartially administered, tempered also by the education and feelings of its rulers, and by their responsibility to Parliament and to the British nation. I can have no possible doubt that this form of Government is the one best calculated to secure and to promote the happiness and advancement of the people of India.

No one who knows the country will be wild enough to assert that the people are fit for representative institutions and self-government. The first care of our insurgents is not to proclaim a constitution, but a new Emperor, and an ample donative to the army.

If then a despotic form of Government is, indeed, the only one suitable to the state of the country as well as the only one possible for us, it follows that if the unrestricted liberty of the Press is incompatible with this form of Government, and with the continuance of our rule in this country, that it must be curtailed; the restrictions need not be many; but systematic abuse of the Government and misrepresentation of its facts, and all attempts to create ill feeling between the different classes of the community, and especially between the European officers and the native soldiery, must be prevented.

Since I began this Minute, I have learnt that the Governor-General has introduced a Bill for regulating the Press, both Native and European, which has been passed by the Legislative Council. I have no doubt that this Act will meet the requirements of the case, and I only record my sentiments upon this subject, because I hardly think that at this moment, when the Governor-General has boldly taken upon himself to pass a measure which must be unpopular at home, and which will be unpalatable to many in this country, it would be honest to conceal them.

(Sd.) ELPHINSTONE.

24th June 1857.

I have read this Minute of our President with a lively interest. It very powerfully supports the opinion of those who think that all restrictions ought never to have been removed from the Indian Press.

For myself it seems unnecessary that I should enter at any length into a discussion of the advantages as compared with the disadvantages of a free Press in this country.

I always supposed it to be an admitted political maxim that a free Press and a despotic Government could not co-exist for any very long period. The one would inevitably in time destroy the other.

With even less hesitation it may be positively affirmed that the totally free and unrestricted liberty of the Press is incompatible with the permanency of an absolute Government by foreigners in a country like India, supported principally by a native army who is attached to us only by the tie of pay and pension.

I believe that the self-evident and inevitable condition of giving freedom to the Indian Press had been accepted by Lord Metcalfe as the remote contingency of his gift. He relied, I suppose, on the considerations that in the first place it was our duty as foreign rulers at all hazards to ourselves, to inform and enlighten our Indian subjects, in effecting which the principal agent would be a free Press. Secondly, on the hopes that the severance of our connection with the country when it did in time take place, would be softened by a sense of benefits received and of the generous tendencies of a rule which endeavoured to the best of its ability to raise the nation to a level with its conquerors.

From the extract from Lord Metcalfe's writings given in our President's Minute, it would seem that he neither affirmed nor denied the dangers to our rule of liberating the Press from all restrictions.

It is my full impression that while he anticipated no immediate danger, he was fully prepared for the distant results of his policy, and in doing what he deemed to be right was not deterred by the anticipation.

To suppose that entire freedom of discussion and the liberty and license of a public Press can march together for a long series of years with the absolute rule of a few foreigners over a country which is so extensive, so populous; which has within it so many germs of native power and greatness as India, appears to me to be the blindness of political insanity.

The most questionable and doubtful aspect in which Lord Metcalfe's measure could be reviewed, is, however, that which we find in the extract from the writings of Sir Thomas Munro quoted in our President's Minute.

Experience at this time seems to justify the opinions of that eminently able officer, that before the good expected from free discussion in the country could result, harm would arrive in the influence which a free Press would exert upon the minds and the fidelity of our native soldiery.

I have but small doubt myself that the agency of a free Native Press has been exerted very banefully, though perhaps indirectly, in producing the catastrophe under which we are now suffering. There are, and have long been, other causes which are patent to those who will reflect, and who have observed our policy for several years past. But the freedom of the Native Press is certainly one of these causes.

I must, however, observe, that it is now rather late in the day to impose restrictions on the Press such as the new Act legalises, and it is a question to me how far they will now be found effectual.

With a few rare exceptions, it is admitted that the measure was uncalled for by the European portion of the Press, indeed the Governor-General says as much. The strictures of the European prints on the proceedings of the several Indian Governments, have seldom passed a justifiable limit, and indeed, have often been profitable, however severe.

But there is the great difficulty noticed by the Governor-General of drawing a line of separation in the treatment of the European and Native portion of the Press, and at a crisis like the present, the power which the Act gives to the Government is required.

There is this further reason for taking it, that I cannot see in what way it will affect the respectable portion of the Press, since no Governor-General or local Government could venture to take the extreme step of withdrawing a license from a paper without justification, or unless an editor has so grossly committed himself as to have lost the sympathy and respect of his fellow editors, a case which has rarely occurred in the annals of Anglo-Indian journalism.

(Sd.) J. G. LUMSDEN.

25th June 1857.

No one who has watched the Native Press of India can, I think, be of opinion that, constituted as it is, it either merits to be free, or that with due regard to the working of the Government of India, it is safe to permit to it that unbridled license which under the garb of freedom it has assumed. It is a subject for regret that the check found necessary at this troubled period had not been before imposed in more quiet times, and I perceive no cause for supposing that after the present occasion has past, it will be safe to remove it.

The restriction as to respectable portions of the Press, both English and Native, will be almost nominal, for with the experience we have had of the benefit to be derived from free discussion, it is not to be supposed that any Indian Government will wish to check it, unless it exceed those bounds within which alone it can benefit the public.

I entirely concur in the opinion recorded by the Right Honourable the President and feel much indebted to him for the opportunity of stating my own in support of the measure lately adopted by the Government of India.

(Sd.) A. MALET.

26th June 1857.

Against the enactment of Act. XV of 1857, Mr. John Cannon, editor and proprietor of the *Bombay Gazette*, protested by submitting a memorial to the Honourable the Court of Directors of the East India Company on the

21st August 1857. The following correspondence and memorial are very interesting reading :—

TO SIR JAMES COSMO MELVILL, K.C.B., ETC., ETC., ETC.,
Secretary to the East India Company.

SIR,—I have the honour to forward to you herewith a memorial to the Honourable the Court of Directors, praying the disallowance of Act XV of 1857 of the Legislative Council of India, and for the protection of the proprietors of presses and conductors of papers in India, in the rights and privileges which they have enjoyed since 1835.

Begging the favour of your submitting the same to the Honourable Court and awaiting your reply.

I have, etc.,
 (Sd.) JOHN CONNON.

9, GLOUCESTER TERRACE,
 NEW CROSS, LONDON, S.E., }
21st August 1857.

EAST INDIA HOUSE,
2nd September 1857.

SIR,—I have laid before the Court of Directors of the East India Company your memorial, dated 21st ultimo, praying for the disallowance by the Court of the Act of the Legislative Council of India, No. XV of 1857, and for “the protection of the proprietors of presses and the conductors of newspapers in India in the rights and privileges enjoyed by them since 1835.”

In reply I am commanded to inform you that the Court have already communicated to the Government of India their approval of the Act of the Legislative Council of India, to which you refer.

I am, etc.,
 JAMES C. MELVILL,
Secretary.

JOHN CONNON, ESQ.,
6, Gloucester Terrace, New Cross.

The following is the full text of the memorial :—
TO THE HONOURABLE THE COURT OF DIRECTORS OF
THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

The Memorial of John Connon, M.A., etc.

SHOWETH,—That your memorialist went out from this country upwards of ten years ago to edit a newspaper in India having only recently returned, and is now sole proprietor of the *Bombay Gazette* daily newspaper, also of several other periodical publications and literary works, and of a large printing office in Bombay, giving employment to more than 150 persons, and circulating by so doing more than Rs. 1,20,000 a year.

2. That as the conductor of a public journal, and otherwise, your memorialist has reason to believe that he acquired the goodwill and esteem of many persons, notwithstanding the invidiousness of the office which he had undertaken, having been secretary to the only associated body of Europeans in the Presidency independent of Government, the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, during the greater part of his residence there, and having received on the occasion of his quitting Bombay, upon leave of absence, and subsequently on a final tender and acceptance of his resignation, highly complimentary communications from that association.

3. That your memorialist claims to have been instrumental by means of the journal which he conducted and still owns, in doing much good at Bombay, by calling attention, for example, to the indifferent state of the police there, when one magistrate was removed, and the magistracy, superintendency and details of police management have all since been changed and improved ; to frauds and other illegalities in the collection of municipal revenue, which have since disappeared, to the state of the Sudder Adawlut in Bombay, when two of the judges of that high court were removed avowedly in consequence of what your memorialist published, and the inability of those judges to reply satisfactorily to it ; and your memorialist believes that by these and other means a greater sense of responsibility has become common among public men, the administration of justice has become less open to suspicion, and the honour of the English

name and Government more and more respected throughout the Presidency of Bombay.

4. That your memorialist, thankful for the freedom and means of usefulness in an honourable calling which he enjoyed while thus engaged, has been careful from the first day and hour in which he acquired property in a press in India, to comply with all the requisitions of the existing law as to the registry of said property, a precaution which he has reason to believe has not always been taken by others similarly situated, including gentlemen in the service of your honourable Court, which neglect on those gentlemen's part, though wellknown to the members of successive governments on the spot, was wholly overlooked by them ; and your memorialist, though he has had to appear in courts of law from time to time, never was cast in damages, or found guilty, on the criminal side, of any libel, or had to apologise for any wrong done, or failed to establish the truth of anything which he ever published, though a statement to this effect seems to have been conveyed to your honourable Court in a minute of the late Governor, Lord Falkland, quoted in a despatch of your honourable Court to the Governor in Council at Bombay, No. 12 of 1853 in the Judicial Department, against which your memorialist remonstrated in letters to the Bombay Government, dated 21st and 28th March, and 18th September 1854, and in respect of which your memorialist had the satisfaction of receiving disclaimers from the Bombay Government under dates the 28th March, 5th April, 7th September and 7th October, all in 1854 ; the communication of the 7th September being accompanied by a copy of your honourable Court's despatch to that Government, No. 13 of 1854 in the Judicial Department, in which partial, but, speaking with the utmost deference your memorialist must say, imperfect justice was done him in respect of the wrong which had been committed.

5. That in the midst of this career of public usefulness, as your memorialist ventures to call it, living under the protection of law on the one hand, and responsible to it on the other, he finds by Act XV of the present year, intituled " An Act to regulate the establishment of printing presses, and to

restrain in certain cases the circulation of printed books and papers" passed by the Legislative Council of India, at a sitting, and by regulations made by the Government of India under that Act, all this freedom and all this protection of law, as well as amenability to regular tribunals taken away, and that he is now liable to absolute ruin at the pleasure of the Executive Government, without warning and without trial; that he must have a license from the Government to use his own press which licence they can give or refuse at pleasure, or on any terms that they please; that they can revoke such licence, or change the terms of it, on the instant, and as often as they please, without any further legislation; that the use of his own press without such a licence would involve the possible loss of it by summary seizure, also the chance of a long imprisonment and heavy fine, while there is to be no appeal from such decisions, nor is any compensation provided for possible wrong done under these circumstances.

6. That your memorialist understands that the mutiny of large bodies of troops in the Bengal Presidency, and a certain unsettledness throughout the country in consequence, are assigned as the reasons for giving to the Executive these new powers. But your memorialist ventures to submit that those mutinies have not been caused in any degree by the late freedom of the Press, and that so far as advantage has been taken by evil-disposed persons of the disturbances alluded to, to publish seditious or other libellous matter, the existing law was sufficient to reach and punish such; in illustration of which he may notice that the Government of India, before Act XV of this year was passed, had up the editors of four native papers in Calcutta before a magistrate, charging them with the issue of treasonable or seditious publications. The accused were all committed, as no doubt they deserved to be, for trial at the criminal sessions, which are presided over by English judges, and where juries, of whom a half must, and the whole may be Englishmen, are judges of the fact, and in libel cases, as your honourable Company is aware, also of the law. There is no reason to doubt that those men would get a fair trial, nor that seditious, libellous, or other

illegal writing in India, can be put down by regular and constitutional means. as easily and as summarily as it can in England. But should the law now passed not be disallowed, it will be said that the government of the East India Company does not like regular and constitutional means, that it does not like an independent judicature, that it wants a power above the law, and operating on public fears at a critical time has got such a power as regards the press; while, judging by what the Governor-General said, in proposing the measure, there is reason to fear that the power thus taken will be retained long after the circumstances under which it arose have passed away. Already such language, less respectful to your honourable Court and servants than your memorialist will allow himself to use, is finding public utterance and probably commanding assent. In a letter from Calcutta, which appears in the *Daily News* of the 17th instant, it is written: "to gag the Press was among the first ideas of our rulers when they found themselves in difficulties. Be sure the English Press was not muzzled on account of any idea of turbulent natives perusing its columns; it was the opportunity to visit official indignation upon the too free spoken on matters in general. The law, as it was before, was thoroughly sufficient for every purpose of proper control and punishment; but it did not permit, as the new Act does, the Governor-General in Council to crush a paper by a word."

7. That supposing your memorialist is wrong in the opinion which he holds in common with so many others, that the existing law was sufficient for all reasonable purposes, he suggests that the law might be amended, but he prays that himself and property shall only be put under a government by law, and not one of possible caprice; above all, he would not have those who may be his accusers to be also his judges, sole judges, and against whose adverse decision there could be no appeal, till wrong past any legal remedy has been inflicted.

8. That it may be said, as indeed has already been said by the Government of India, in giving a warning, which it was quite optional and quite a gratuitous courtesy on the part of

the Government to do to the *Friend of India*,* that "the Governor-General in Council has no intention of interfering with the fair discussion of public measures;" but read by the light of his actual interference with the conduct of that newspaper in respect of an article which your memorialist would call innocuous, if not laudatory of the English Government in India, one is at a loss to know what Government means by "fair discussion." They constitute themselves sole judges of what is fair discussion and what is not. And looking at the conditions set forth in the official notifications in India as those upon which the licence to keep or use a press is to be had, it will be observed that those conditions have only in a partial degree any relation to the existing state of affairs, and withal are so comprehensive that having them in view no proprietor of a press, or journalist equal to his duties, can regard his personal liberty or his property safe for one hour beyond the pleasure of angry, fussy, or affrighted officials. Even publication of documents and despatches that have received the warm approval of your honourable Court is full of danger. Thus, referring to one of the conditions, that forbidding observations, original or selected, from any source "having a tendency to weaken the friendship towards the British Government of Native Princes, Chiefs, or States in dependence upon or alliance with it," to reprint in India only a few words from the minute of the Marquis of Dalhousie, dated the 28th February 1856, reviewing his administration in India, say paragraph 39, in which His Lordship speaks of the chance of "recovering (for the British Government) the fertile and unhappy province of Cashmere, which in 1846 we unwittingly handed over to a chief who has proved himself a veritable tyrant, and who already appears to be the founder of a race of tyrants," the veritable tyrant here alluded to being a sovereign prince then in alliance with us, and his son one of "a race of tyrants" by the same authority, being now in alliance with us, to reprint in India such words as these, long since given to the world with approbation by your honourable Court, would now render one liable to all the penalties of

* For the facts about this warning, see the *Calcutta Review*, April 1908.

Act XV of 1857. In short, if Government is to act, not to speak of the letter, but even in the spirit of the regulations which it has laid down, the use of a printing press in India for almost any conceivable purpose is dangerous, if not impossible. But it may be said, Government has no intention to act up to the power which it has taken. With reference to that your memorialist would represent that it is a policy—if one can call such action by such a name—quite unworthy of a wise and just Government, to make laws which it does not care to enforce habitually when they are infringed. As already remarked by your memorialist, the few and simple provisions of Act XI of 1835, as to public registry of property in presses, have been frequently disregarded in India by some, never by your memorialist ; and no Government, so far as your memorialist knows, has taken the least notice of the illegality. No doubt the unwillingness of Government officers to perform what seemed a disagreeable duty, was alone the cause of this ; but if another cause were sought for, it might be found perhaps in the notion entertained by a certain class of officials that it is high statesmanship to treat the Press with an affectation of contempt—a notion strikingly in contrast with the Act just now passed, and one also which your memorialist is persuaded cannot be entertained by your honourable Court, who, he doubts not, share with him the opinion that the only true statesmanship in regard to the Press is to legislate for it calmly, and deliberately in peaceful times, putting it, like other professions, in a state of responsible freedom, and then leaving those affected by it, whether governments or individuals, and those connected with it, all to their responsibility to the law on the one hand, and to their protection by it on the other.

9. That your memorialist submits that any other policy—interference, for instance, by the Executive, from day to day in the way now threatened, and indeed practised in India—involves a degree of responsibility and necessary action on their part totally incompatible with their recognised functions. For one thing, they must be presumed to approve all that is printed which they have not checked, and unless they are to carry out a policy of extermination as to the Press, this lands them in

a position of absurdity unworthy of a Government, or indeed of any man of reason and common sense.

10. That your memorialist believes less precaution has been taken in India since 1835 till now, than is still taken in England, to ensure a certain amount of respectability on the part of newspaper proprietors so far as that can be done by law. He alludes to the seditious libel bond or recognizance required in England from newspaper proprietors and sureties under 60 Geo. 3, c. 9 and 11 Geo. 4, c. 73. Your memorialist would not object for himself, and does not believe that any respectable newspaper proprietor in India would object, to furnish such a bond as that required here under those Acts. But your memorialist would see with deep regret any steps taken, and, if taken, persevered in, which would have the effect of placing conductors of English newspapers in India on a footing of hostility, with a good cause of quarrel, almost personal, towards the British Government there, where there are so many objects of honourable ambition and of usefulness common and open to both parties in their respective spheres. But then their spheres are and must be apart, if either would be useful, as they may. One who has adorned and dignified a judgment seat in Bombay, and the legislature of England; one who has taught philosophy in the schools of your honourable Court, and whose name is dear to literature and freedom, Sir James Mackintosh, said in his defence of Peltier—"To inform the public on the conduct of those who administer public affairs requires courage and conscious security. It is always an invidious and obnoxious office; but it is often the most necessary of all public duties. If it is not done boldly, it cannot be done effectually, and it is not from writers trembling under the uplifted scourge that we are to hope for it," and to quote another who has also served your honourable Court well, the great historian of our day, the same who drew up the Act that first gave to the Press of India its (alas temporary) freedom:—"Men are never so likely to settle a question rightly as when they discuss it freely. A Government can interfere in discussion only by making it less free than it would otherwise be. Men

are most likely to form just opinions when they have no other wish than to know the truth, and are exempt from all influence either of hope or fear. Government as Government can bring nothing but the influence of hopes and fears to support its doctrines. It comes on controversy, not with reasons, but with threats and bribes. If it employs reasons, it does so not in virtue of any powers which belong to it as a Government. Thus instead of a contest between argument and argument, we have a contest between argument and force. Instead of a contest in which truth, from the natural constitution of the human mind, has a decided advantage over falsehood we have a contest in which truth can be victorious only by accident."

11. That it is your memorialist's firm persuasion that your honourable Court and the various authorities and agencies for the Government of India have nothing to fear, in the discharge of duty, from a free Press.

Your memorialist, therefore, prays your honourable Court to signify to the Governor-General of India in Council your disallowance of the Act XV of 1857, in terms of the Act of Parliament 3 and 4 Will 4, c. 85, s. 44, causing the said Governor-General in Council forthwith to repeal the said law and the regulations made under it; and should it be thought necessary or desirable to amend the previously existing law as to the possession and use of printing presses in India, your memorialist prays further that the liberty of unlicensed printing shall not be taken from loyal and lawful subjects of the British Crown, and that the persons and property of owners of presses and the conductors of newspapers there—at all events, of those now enjoying the protection of English law, and subject to the jurisdiction of the Queen's Courts only—shall not be put in jeopardy except by fair trial in such courts, nor sacrificed till after guilt found by impartial and independent juries.

And your memorialist, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

JOHN CONNON, M.A.

6, GLOUCESTER, NEW CROSS,
LONDON, S.E.,
21st August 1857. }

In September 1857 the Government of Bombay empowered the Magistrate of Poona to warn the newspapers published within his jurisdiction against republishing such articles from the London journals as were of an objectionable nature. The following letter was addressed to the Magistrate of Poona :—

JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT, BOMBAY CASTLE,

23rd September 1857.

Sir,—In the *Bombay Times* newspaper of last Thursday the editor stated that a detachment of the 2nd Bombay Light Cavalry had mutinied at Deesa, and had been destroyed by Her Majesty's 83rd Regiment at that station; and in last Monday's paper there is an article from the English paper, the *Press*, the publication of which is calculated to have a very pernicious effect at the present time.

I am, therefore, desired by the Right Honourable the Governor in Council to request that you will be good enough to warn the editors of English and Native newspapers within your jurisdiction against republishing the articles in question.

I have, etc.,

H. L. ANDERSON,

Secretary to Government.

To the Magistrate of Poona.

(To be continued.)

S. C. SANIAL.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

THE PRINCE OF DESTINY, THE NEW KRISHNA. By Sarath Kumar Ghosh. Publishers Messrs. Rehman, Limited, 129, Shaftesbury Avenue, London, W. C.

KIPLING has told us in one of his works "East and West; never the Twain shall meet." The gifted Bengal author who in "The Prince of Destiny" has written the book of the hour, holds on the other hand that the East and West can come together and his tale, written in the purest English, that many a present-day author might envy, sets out to show how this may be attained. The story which is of especial interest at the present time, when there is so much needless unrest, holds the reader spell-bound and gives in its pages more insight of the inner workings of the Indian mind which have so often puzzled his brother of the West than, perhaps, has ever been done before. The romance should appeal to both Indian and European readers and we shall not spoil the interest in it by quoting from its pages, every one of which makes delightful reading, at the same time making the reader to contemplate on the situation with which the romance deals.

THE FAUNA OF BRITISH INDIA including Ceylon and Burma.

WE have received the first copy of the Fauna of British India series edited by A. E. Shipley, M.A., Hon. D.S.C., F.R.S., including the volume dealing with the Dermaptera (Earwigs) by Malcolm Burr, D.S.C., M.A., F.R.S., F.L.S., F.Z.S. The Publishers are Messrs. Taylor and Francis, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, London, while the volume can also be obtained from Messrs. Thacker, Spink and Co., Calcutta, and Messrs. Thacker and Co., Bombay. Mr. Shipley's preface to the work is worthy of reproduction. He says :—

I would wish to record my sense of the loss Science has sustained through the death of the late Lieutenant-Colonel C. T. Bingham. He succeeded Dr. Blanford, who initiated and

edited the series for more than twenty years, in 1905, and since that time devoted himself unremittingly to the task, he then took up. His loss has been widely felt, especially amongst the workers in systematic Entomology: if I may quote his own words about his predecessor:—"To few, however, will that loss be personally so great as to those who under his direction were working for the Fauna of India series."

During the year 1908 Colonel Bingham was engaged on his third and final volume on the Indian Butterflies. This, which was to have included the families *Lycænidæ* and *Hesperiidæ*, he left unfinished. I am happy to state that Mr. H. Druce has, with the sanction of the Secretary of State for India, undertaken to complete the work; but owing to the constantly increasing amount of material now available it will be necessary to devote a volume to each of these families.

At the time of Lieutenant-Colonel Bingham's death, volumes on the following Groups had been sanctioned by the Secretary of State for publication:—on the *Cicindelidæ*, *Paussidæ* and a General Introduction to the Coleoptera by Canon W. W. Fowler; on the Orthoptera, by Mr. W. F. Kirby; on the Dermaptera, by Mr. Malcolm Burr; on the Butterflies (third and last volume), by Lieutenant-Colonel Bingham; on the *Curculionidæ*, by Mr. G. A. K. Marshall; on the *Cetoniidæ* and *Dynastidæ*, by Mr. G. Arrow; on the *Ichneumonidæ*, by Mr. Claude Morley; on Longicorn Beetles, by Mr. C. J. Gahan and on the *Buprestidæ*, by Mr. E. P. Stebbing.

Since that date sanction has been obtained for an Appendix to the volumes on the Rhynchota, by Mr. W. L. Distant. In addition to the two (3rd and 4th) volumes on Butterflies already mentioned, the Secretary of State for India has also sanctioned a half volume on the *Blattidæ*, by Mr. R. Shelford; and a whole volume, instead of the half volume previously sanctioned, on the *Acrididæ*, and *Locustidæ* by Mr. Kirby. Further, approval has been given for a second volume on the Mollusca, by Lieutenant-Colonel H. H. Godwin-Austen.

Although there are few better known insects in Europe than the common Earwig, the Dermaptera are said to be rare in most parts of the world. The order, however, in warm and

tropical regions is rich in species. Hence, although but two species are probably indigenous to our islands, the number described by Dr. Burr from India amounts to over one hundred and thirty.

In the present work Dr. Burr has adopted a new classification and has incorporated in its pages the results of a series of systematic Papers which he has published during the last year or two. If we except some statements taken from de Bormans' account of Earwigs from Burma, a very large proportion of this work is original. In the fifth volume of the "Cambridge Natural History" Dr. Sharp states :—"The classification of the earwigs is still in a rudimentary state ;" I do not think I exaggerate when I say that Dr. Burr's work will cause the deletion of this sentence if a new edition of Dr. Sharp's volume be called for.

We now come to the author's preface with which the volume deals :—He says the Earwigs form a compact, homogeneous and well-defined group of insects. Owing to a superficial resemblance to certain *Staphylinidæ*, Linnæus included them in the Coleoptera, but de Geer placed them in his Order Dermaptera, which corresponded to the Orthoptera of Olivier, in the modern acceptance of the name. Kirby, in 1815, treated them as a distinct Order, restricting to them de Geer's name *Dermaptera*, which had been superseded by Olivier's word for the larger group. Authors were then divided into two camps, those in favour of considering the earwigs as an Order and those who preferred to regard them as a Family of the Orthoptera.

The actual name employed for the group of earwigs has varied still more. Erichson and Fischer called them *Labiduroidæ* ; Latreille, Serville and Scudder, *Forficulidæ* ; Newman and Fischer von Waldheim, *Forculina*, followed at first by Burmeister, who later proposed *Dermaptera* in an amended form, *Dermatoptera*. Westwood invented the appropriate name *Euplexoptera*, and Fischer, *Harmoptera* ; Brunner called them *Forficularia*, as a family of the Orthoptera ; Bolivar regards them as a section of the Orthoptera, under the name *Dermaptera*, with the single family *Forficulidæ*. Dorn, Redtenbacher

Krauss and Verhoeff follow Kirby, in giving them full ordinal rank, under de Geer's name *Dermaptera* ; but de Bormans, in his monograph published in "Das Tierreich," treats them as a family, *Forficulidæ*.

Our own inclination is to treat them as a distinct order, with the name *Dermaptera*, sanctioned by much use, rejecting the corrections suggested, such as *Dermoptera* by Agassiz and *Dermatoptera* by Burmeister.

No attempt had been made to subdivide earwigs into smaller groups until this was done by Verhoeff (1902), who based his classification upon the genitalia. His system has the double disadvantage of being impracticable for ordinary purposes and incomplete. Many of his characters are of doubtful value, and some of his work will probably never be accepted, while it is not free from inaccuracy, involved synonymy, and other drawbacks. It was, however, the first attempt to reject the empirical arrangement, with which de Bormans, for want of material, had been obliged to be content. As such it merits recognition and approbation.

The writer of this work has endeavoured to pick out those portions of Verhoeff's work which appear to him to be sound, to retain the best part of de Bormans' system, to add a considerable amount of new material and original observation and to produce a harmonious whole. The result of this attempt is set forth in the volume under review.

Families and subfamilies were first established by Verhoeff, but his definitions are not always retained, and his separation of the *Apachyidæ* into a suborder under the name *Paradermaptera* is rejected. Only five families are retained, each divided into a varying number of subfamilies. A careful study of the characterisation of these groups is essential to the understanding of the *Dermaptera* as a whole ; the main outline of this new classification is presented in the synoptical table of families on page 31.

The author is engaged at the same time upon a general revision and Monograph of the Earwigs of the world, and the system put forward in the following pages is that which he has so far adopted in his manuscript of the larger work.

It is unnecessary to add with what pleasure criticism and suggestions will be received. Above all, fresh material is most urgently required, in order that a solution may be obtained for the still remaining problems.

In order to be consistent in the use of word "type", the author has uniformly followed the principle that one individual specimen, and one only, can be the *type* of a species.

For instance, of *Forficula sjostedti*, Burr, an African species, the author has examined nearly 500 specimens. Now, it is possible that in future generations, some entomologist, with great local knowledge, may decide that this number included two distinct forms; consequently, if every one of these 500 specimens were labelled "*Type*" and these "types" were scattered through the collections and museums of the world, it would have been impossible to decide which was the true *Forficula sjostedti*.

Again, some of de Bormans' species were based on material partly in the Genoa and partly in the Vienna Museum. Each Museum claims to possess the type. Every specimen, in both collections, in many instances, is labelled "type." In such a case the author has endeavoured to identify the actual individual on which the description was based, or the first specimen named, and for him that has been the type.

All the others are *syntypes*, which have nearly, but not quite the same value for purposes of identification. The 499 remaining specimens of *Forficula sjostedti*, for instance, are syntypes.

A further term is *paratype*, which is applied to a specimen which has been identified authoritatively by comparison with a true type.

A paratype has therefore a little less value than a syntype and a syntype than the type of a species.

In the systematic part of this work, an asterisk indicates that the *type* has been examined by the author, two asterisks denoting a *syntype*.

The material for this work has been derived from the following sources :—

I.—The results of Leonardo Fea's travels in Burma ;
the collections are, in the Civic Museum of

Genoa: they have been reported on by de Bormans (88) and (94).

II.—A few species taken in Trichinopoli, near Kodai-kanal, enumerated by Bolivar (97), in which paper de Bormans describes some new species.

III.—Scattered references to Indian localities in general works upon Orthoptera, or on Dermaptera, such as Guerin (38), Dohrn (63-67), de Bormans (83) and (90), Dubrony (79), Westwood (39) and so on.

IV.—Material in the collections of the Museums of Brussels, Budapest and Paris reported on by Burr (90), (92), (97³), (98¹) and (98²).

V.—Material in the Oxford University Museum; no account of this collection has yet been published, but the material has been kindly lent to the author by Professor E. B. Poulton, M.A., F.R.S.

VI.—A paper on the Earwigs of Ceylon, by Burr (91), based chiefly on material collected by Mr. E. Ernest Green, Government Entomologist, at the Royal Botanic Gardens, Peradeniya.

VII.—Material in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, mostly taken by Dr. Nelson Annandale, and published by Burr (95³), (96¹) and (97²), including some communicated by Mr. Maxwell Lefroy, Imperial Entomologist at Pusa, Bengal.

VIII.—Material specially collected for the purpose of this work and communicated to the author, by Mr. T. B. Fletcher, formerly of H.M.S. *Sealark* quartered at Ceylon, and by Dr. A. Willey of Colombo.

IX.—Material from various sources contained in the author's collection and in the collection of Monsieur Henri Gadeau de Kerville of Rouen, who has very obligingly placed his specimens very freely at the author's disposition.

But for the efforts of the gentlemen named above, the number of species and localities in the following work would have been reduced by about half. The author takes this opportunity of repeating his thanks for their valuable and enthusiastic help.

It will be observed in the list of species on p. 23, that a large proportion of types have been examined and it has been attempted to show where all the types are at present preserved. This has been possible in almost all cases where species have been recently described, but the older authors did not specify their types with the accuracy which is now considered necessary. Consequently it has not always been possible to state where the types are in the case of such authors as Serville, Dohrn, etc. In describing a new species the latter author often noted that his material was based on specimens in several collections; all his original specimens are syntypes, but it is impossible to determine which individual is the type. In such instances, the whereabouts of the syntypes has been noted. It has been assumed that Dohrn's own specimens are still preserved at Stettin, but this is the only important collection of earwigs which has not been placed at the disposal of the author.

The author gladly takes this opportunity of recording his gratitude to Dr. Shipley, the most courteous of editors, and sepecially to Mr. G. A. K. Marshall, whose laborious and careful proof-reading has placed him under a deep sense of obligation.

The plates and figures in the text have been drawn by Mr. Edwin Wilson, with the exception of several figures (75, 76, 79 and 90) which are by Mr. Horace Knight. No work upon this group of insects has yet enjoyed such accurate and abundant illustration.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

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- The "Indian World" for January and February 1910.* Editor.
- The "Hindusthan Review" for January 1910.* Editor.
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